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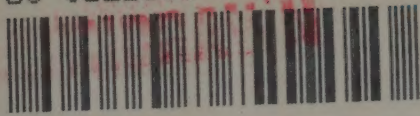
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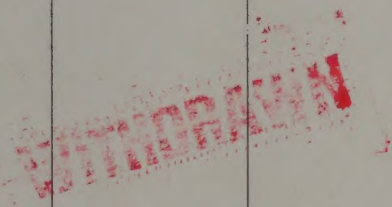
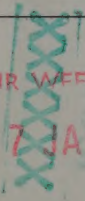
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DUTCH AND FLEMISH WOODCUTS
OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

DUTCH AND FLEMISH WOODCUTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

BY

M. J. SCHRETLEN

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

M. J. FRIEDLÆNDER



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FOREWORD

It affords me great pleasure to write a foreword to this book, especially as the subject and theme is of great interest and the result of this work has far exceeded my expectations. Ever since I have studied old Dutch and Flemish paintings I have had the blockbooks and woodcuts in the incunabula in mind, and I have regretted my inability to exhaust this source of knowledge for lack of time to work through the very rare books mostly preserved in the libraries of Holland and England.

Everything that may serve to reveal the importance of Dutch centres of art must be done with zeal and welcomed with joy. It has often become manifest that the Dutch provinces contributed more to the development of the Flemish art of painting than we are led to believe by the small number of early Dutch paintings which are still extant. Several artists who certainly laid the foundations of art in Flanders were of Dutch origin, such as Gerard David and Dirk Bouts. The man who searches Dutch ground digs for treasure among ruins. The iconoclasts of the 16th century have really done their work very thoroughly. The lack of important monuments in this country has diminished the vital energy to explore them and the habit of concentrating upon the 17th century, the period of political and economical prosperity, has set the preceding periods into the background. There are however Dutch paintings and sculptures of the 15th century which are neither related to, nor found near the place of their origin, they are disseminated in England, Spain and Russia, and the task of classifying them as Dutch and of establishing their relationship to other works is indeed arduous.

Any one who possesses an all-round knowledge and is able to note the relationship between sculptures, miniatures, paintings, blockbooks, single woodcuts, engravings and incunabula woodcuts, and who could connect the relation of style and development in all these manifestations would be able to advance our knowledge greatly. Research however is mostly limited nowadays to the confines of one department in the art and very few are able to follow what goes on in the others.

As far as the illustrations of books during the period from 1470 to 1500 are concerned, we have in many respects an ideal means to watch the tendencies of the development of art, firstly because the entire material is preserved intact, and secondly because date and place of origin are known.

FOREWORD

The author of this book has clearly understood the importance of the simple woodcuts and looking beyond the confines of this particular craft he considered the illustrations as the reflected image of lost paintings.

In the process the predominance of Haarlem and the power of attraction Antwerp exercised upon the drawing of Dutch artists become evident and furnish valuable indications for the study of pictures; moreover light is thrown upon such dark questions as the invention of typography, the relation of blockbooks to the illustration of printed books, and the sources of Dutch painting during the 16th century.

I thus welcome with gratitude the harvest of this scientific accomplishment which increases our knowledge and the number of ascertained dates, which gives rise to the hope that future discoveries will spring from this seed.

M. J. FRIEDLAENDER.

PREFACE.

Originally I had the intention to study Dutch and Flemish woodcuts of the 15th century in order to throw more light upon the still rather dark history of the paintings of this period in the northern Netherlands. I hoped that woodcuts in the incunabula containing particulars as to their date and place would furnish considerable information with regard to anonymous painters of the 15th century.

My success in this direction was limited, although a certain amount of information was obtained as we shall see later on. As I looked into the matter closer the great importance of the woodcuts became evident to me, so much so that I changed my original intention: what I had considered a means became a purpose in itself and I ultimately decided to compile an exhaustive treatise on the Dutch and Flemish woodcuts of the 15th century.

Sir Martin Conway's book on "The Woodcutters of the Netherlands, Cambridge 1884" was my point of departure; it is an important accessory to their study, but its author committed the unpardonable mistake of omitting illustrations from his book. The study of this subject without pictures is very dull if not impossible. However his catalogue of the incunabula woodcuts, which is appended to his book, is of permanent value. I also used Campbell's "*Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise au XV^e siècle*" (The Hague, 1874).

Whenever I refer to woodcuts the books in which they are to be found are always indicated in accordance with the numbers of Campbell's catalogue. (C. A. No.....). For the sake of brevity I have only named the works in which the woodcuts appeared first, although most of them are to be found again either in later editions of the same book or in quite a different volume, so that woodcuts of the eighties of the 15th century are sometimes still reprinted in the middle of the 16th century.

I devoted my attention especially to the incunabula woodcuts and I have dealt with all the woodcutters of the northern and the southern Netherlands up to 1500 whether they are artists or not. In addition I have also described the blockbook-illustrations for the sake of association especially as I was anxious to establish, I hope finally, the Dutch origin of this art. But here I ended my labour and I have not dealt with the so-called single woodcuts.

PREFACE

It seemed to me to be a thankless task to occupy myself with the difficult problem as to whether the woodcutter was identical with the designer of the picture; sometimes there is convincing evidence for or against either assumption. We still grope entirely in the dark concerning this problem and I therefore do not propose to put forward any hypothesis in this respect but I will assume the woodcutter and the designer to be one and the same person.

I have collected the material, which is rather scattered, from the public libraries in The Hague, Amsterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, Haarlem, Deventer, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Berlin, Munich, Leipzig and Vienna, and I have always endeavoured to collect the best preserved specimens of the woodcuts in order to obtain the best possible reproductions.

I recall with gratitude the kindnesses and help of the curators and officials in the Hague, London (B. M.) Cambridge, Berlin, Munich, and Vienna.

As far as possible the reproductions are shown in the original size although I had to depart now and then from this rule, especially in the case of the blockbook pictures.

I append below a list of abbreviations which occur throughout the text.

| | |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| C. A. | equals Campbell, Annales, etc. |
| K. B. | equals Kon. Bibliotheek (Royal Library), The Hague. |
| B. M. | equals British Museum, London. |
| B. N. | equals Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. |
| Meerman | equals Museum Meerman-Westreenen, The Hague. |
| H. M. T. | equals Holtrop, Monuments typographiques dans les Pays-Bas du xv ^e siècle. |
| Schr. | equals <i>Schreiber Manuel de l'Amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au xv^e siècle.</i> |
| App. | equals Appendix. |

Bilthoven-Loosdrecht (Utrecht) 1920-1922.

M. J. SCHRETLEN.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the last fifty years a great deal has been written upon the history of the Flemish art of painting in the 15th century and also many works have done justice to the Dutch painters of that period, so much so that the name of Geertgen tot Sint Jans now enjoys nearly as great a fame as those of Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden. As the early Dutch masters come to be regarded as the source of inspiration for the 17th century, the school of the primitives is being studied more and more. We also possess an extensive literature concerning the miniatures of the Southern Netherlands and recently important studies have been published dealing with those of the Northern Netherlands and they have revealed the extent of the art treasures which they contain.

For this reason it appears strange that so little attention should have been paid to the Dutch woodcuts of the 15th century and yet the art of woodcutting of that period flourished in a very remarkable and characteristic way in the Netherlands. It was a living art in the truest sense of the word, and though it appears to have originated directly from the art of miniatures, as we shall see later on, it still reveals an intense life of its own everywhere.

It developed for about a century (up to the death of Lucas van Leyden). During this time it revealed a rich and vigorous life and never became merely conventional, so that this period may be regarded as the classical epoch of the art of woodcutting in the Netherlands, for although many woodcuts were still made here in the 17th century and though in modern times some prominent artists are again taking an active interest in this form of art, nevertheless the time and circumstances have never been so favourable as then, for the new invention of typography, which was then conquering the world, made use of it at once and the rapid spread of printing provided woodcutting with a rich and unlimited field of activity.

Illustrations were wanted and it was the woodcuts above all which for some generations at any rate preserved the old glory of the book which had always been a work of art, until eventually, owing to its technical development, it decayed and degenerated into mere manufacture.

During this period Dutch woodcutters have created work which not only compares favourably with the best woodcuts of other countries in the 15th century, but which as a matter of fact excelled them. In those times their artistic value is equalled only and occasionally perhaps surpassed by Italian work; they excel by far the products of Germany before 1500, whereas the achievements in this respect of other countries, e.g., France and England, are scarcely worth mentioning in comparison with Dutch work. We shall see that the Dutch woodcuts in these countries even had so great an influence that they were copied or at least their style was imitated.

It is very probable that at the beginning woodcuts were used as substitutes for miniatures because woodcuts were cheaper; it was easier to multiply them and it is likely that they were often produced by the same artists, for in the Netherlands at any rate we find in the 15th century a close connection between woodcuts and miniatures*. The woodcuts retained the same character; not merely the same or similar subjects were cut in wood, but the Dutch woodcuts were above all picturesque; it is quite evident that this new art was practised by the miniaturists. We find the same pictorial problem in the woodcuts as in the miniatures; the same ideals exist in both; there is complete similarity of treatment of the landscape; the same accentuation of colour, of light and shade at the expense of the design, and these characteristic qualities of the Dutch miniatures lead in the woodcuts to the beautiful black and white effects, to the minute detailed drawings with considerable shading and hatching. The broad treatment and the forcible rhythm which perhaps make up the great possibilities of this art and to which they led eventually, were practically neglected at this stage in Holland. Herein lies the characteristic difference between these and the German and Italian woodcuts. It is due to these qualities in the Dutch craftsmanship that the superficial observer may judge them unfavourably at first sight; they often give an impression of untidiness and they reveal careless craftsmanship especially when compared with Italian work. Closer acquaintance with the whole range of the subject and a minute inspection however lead to quite a different judgment. One might

* Kautsch in « *Die Holzschnitte der Kölner Bibel von 1479* » (Studien der deutschen Kunstgeschichte) has also come to the conclusion that the woodcutters are as it were the descendants of the miniaturists.

almost assert that it is necessary to appreciate them rather as miniatures than as woodcuts (especially in the case of the Haarlem prints), also later, when the art of woodcutting became quite independent of the miniaturists in this country they are still intimately related to the art of painting: representation is achieved more by tone than by drawing. The artists have carefully observed the demands of light and shade and shown reflection in the water, and we frequently meet with skies heavily laden with clouds which are admirable.

These woodcuts form a most important chapter in the history of art which up to now has been overlooked almost entirely. This must be ascribed principally to the general ignorance of the material; how otherwise could Campbell Dodgson write in his *Catalogue of the early Flemish and German woodcuts* (page 21): « the much less important illustrations of the Dutch incunabula &c. » The slight appreciation however which Conway has shown for their aesthetic merits seems quite incomprehensible. One may safely assert the contrary, namely that the woodcuts of the *Ars Moriendi*, some of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and many of the books of Bellaert at Haarlem and those of the printing office at Schiedam belong to the finest products of this art.

If we survey the whole œuvre of the woodcutters produced in the Netherlands in the 15th century we behold a rich and manifold picture. The first important landmark is the *Ars Moriendi* which may have originated about the middle of that century and which forms the flower of the school to which the *Apocalypse* and the *Historia Davidis* also belong. Some difference of style can be noticed in the *Biblia Pauperum* the origin of which must be fixed a few years later; but quite an original spirit breathes in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* which must be dated a little later still and its pictures are very promising. These promises are redeemed in the beautiful prints of the Haarlem master who flourished up till 1490, and his activity forms a second land-mark in this century. Several artists worked contemporaneously with him and under his influence, one of whom (in Delft) reveals quite individual traits, whilst the others (Gouda, Zwolle and Antwerp) were merely followers who did not develop this art any further. Towards the end of the eighties however a new star arises in the firmament. It is Jacob Cornelis, who, profiting by the achievements of his great predecessors, became the third shining light of this

century, and he also became in his turn the forerunner of Lucas van Leyden, who in the 16th century brought the art of woodcutting to its highest perfection.

The origin of woodcuts must probably be traced to an economic cause: the miniatures were too expensive for the people who, however, wanted to have pictures. A cheaper means of illustration was sought and it was found in woodcutting and engraving, for by these methods any number of prints could be made from one block or plate. The next and logical development was the blockbook. From the economic point of view this was indeed a great improvement upon the manuscript, but the blockbook was too expensive in so far as only a single book could be printed with the same block, although several copies could be pulled from them. This disadvantage must have been felt acutely and only the invention of printing with moveable types brought the final solution.

The material may be divided into three sections :

1. The so-called single woodcuts (letters of indulgence, etc.), mostly pictures of saints, which were probably made from about 1400 onwards ;
2. The blockbook, which appeared and flourished from about 1430, onwards ;
3. The incunabula woodcuts which appeared in the Netherlands round about 1475.

As far as the first section of these woodcuts is concerned (which will not be dealt with in this book) there are really no facts to rely upon except a few doubtful dates. Any attempt to date and localise their origin has been done purely on the grounds of general stylistic considerations. Some of these prints undeniably reveal the style of the early part of the 15th century. Most of them have been described as German work, but considering the great perfection attained in the Netherlands by the other two sections referred to above, a profound study will undoubtedly prove that several of these are of Dutch origin. When every now and again I have found a single woodcut which appears to be connected with a Dutch blockbook I have drawn attention to it. This connection, which is very striking at times, proves that both kinds were often produced in the same workshop.

A further step in the development is marked by the blockbooks which are also undated. Apart from the single images of saints whole books were produced, originally with pictures only, but later on also with explanatory texts, which were sometimes cut and sometimes written. At this period woodcutting in the Netherlands became quite a flourishing art which was sufficiently developed and therefore able to satisfy the general demand, when towards the end of the seventies the printing presses began to operate in these countries and illustrations were wanted for many books.

The blockbooks must have reached their prime in the Netherlands between 1430 and 1470, that is to say at a time coinciding with the most important schools of the miniaturists. We shall see later on the reason for which they must be assigned to this period.

The first woodcuts in incunabula make their appearance in Louvain in 1475, but they are only vignettes (portraits of printers) or else single printers' devices. The real book illustrations (a "book" in the sense of a "printed" book) did not begin in the Netherlands before 1480 (simultaneously at Utrecht and Gouda)*.

The first productions more or less bear a provincial stamp although those emanating from Gouda show some artistic value: they remind us strongly of the style of the blockbooks without however in any way attaining to their level. The woodcuts only give outlines, no hatchings were used and they do not at this period suggest important workshops in this region.

The illustrations which appeared in Haarlem in 1483 reveal perfect maturity from the beginning; they are closely related to the woodcuts of the "*Speculum*" and the miniatures of a Dutch Bible (British Museum No. 16,951) which was written by Hughe Gerritsz Surgyn in Noor-dwyk (a village near Haarlem) and finished there in 1474. Moreover some peculiarities of the style of the Haarlem woodcuts, as for instance the minuteness of the inner drawings and the frequent use of dots and shading, reveal the influence of the "*Ars Moriendi*".

The craftsmanship of woodcutting as practised in Holland had already reached a high perfection in Haarlem and the really great artist

* This is an assumption based on the earliest illustrated incunabula which are preserved and which bear the date of 1480. It is not probable that older illustrated incunabula existed in Utrecht and Gouda but they may have existed in Haarlem.

who worked here must have derived his art from the school of the Dutch blockbooks. He is the incontestable leader in the Netherlands and all woodcuts are influenced by him until Jacob Cornelis appeared, whose style again is entirely based upon the art of the Haarlem master. The magnificent landscapes in his extremely picturesque woodcuts assert once more the glory of the Haarlem painters as proclaimed by van Mander; here we find ourselves in the school of Bouts and Ouwater and we feel the proximity of Geertgen tot Sint Jans.

It is remarkable how modest a place the Southern Netherlands take in this respect. Here printed books are very rarely illustrated and the pictures are of little artistic value. In Ghent and Bruges, where the school of miniaturists enjoyed a unique prosperity and perfection in the second half of the 15th century, the public remained more or less indifferent towards woodcutting. In the first of these towns only unassuming little pictures for prayerbooks were published, whereas at Bruges the Master of the Boccaccio illustrations, an engraver, made mediocre woodcuts for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, published there by Colard Mansion in 1484.

The Haarlem master already mentioned went to Antwerp in 1487; he produced there a great deal of excellent work but not a single one of the native artists was able to rival him.

In view of these considerations it is very improbable that one has to consider the Southern Netherlands as a centre of the art of blockbooks; for otherwise traces would undoubtedly have been left there.

The cause of this situation probably lies in the economic circumstances; in the 15th century the Southern Netherlands were much wealthier than the North; their inhabitants could afford the luxury of an illuminated manuscript more easily than the Dutch people, who found a cheaper substitute in the blockbook and the woodcut.

BLOCKBOOKS

The oldest printed book is the blockbook; it was produced by the use of the so-called block-prints and contained a set of pictures under which a short text was either written or cut; these books were made without movable type.

The manuscripts too expensive for the masses were imitated mechanically in this way, but even this method appeared to be too costly and too impractical and naturally led to the invention of typography. The idea that the invention of typography is the outcome of blockbooks has often been disputed but never refuted. It has been stated that xylographs were made at a much later date, and dated specimens of the end of the 15th century are referred to when typography was already flourishing. Against which we may aver: apart from the logic of this development the pictures of the blockbooks reveal the period of their origin to extend from about 1430 to 1470, and the fact that they were still made at the end of the 15th century in no way contradicts that they flourished at an earlier period*. Indeed it was not to be expected that an art which had shown such considerable developments would vanish suddenly, merely because its technique had been condemned. We ought to take into consideration that manuscripts were produced up to the middle of the 16th century!

The period of the blockbooks of the Netherlands seems to date between 1430 and 1480. The style of the drawing and the garments depicted in the prints often points to the first half of the 15th century; in 1480 however their vitality seems to be exhausted**, and we see the cut-up blocks being used as illustrations in incunabula, thus we find those of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in 1481 in the edition of the *Epistelen en Evangelien* (C. A. 690) of Jan Veldener at Utrecht, whereas Pieter van Os of Zwolle in 1487 adorned his edition of

* Compare P. Kristeller "*Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten, Berlin, 1911*". With the aid of several extracts from archives he proves that woodcuts were already made in the Netherlands and in Germany during the beginning of the 15th century.

** In Germany and Italy blockbooks were still being made in the 16th century as appears from the dates (compare Dodgson Cat. page 20). The copies are mostly poor. In Holland they could not apparently hold their own against the book printed with movable type.

this book (C. A. 697) with pictures from the *Biblia Pauperum* and used the upper-part of the title page of the *Canticum Canticorum* in 1494 for his *Rosetum exercitiorum Spiritualium* *. We shall later on speak of a more exact dating of the oldest blockbooks.

It is not surprising that just in the Netherlands where the illuminating of manuscripts attained such an extraordinary height this new art also reached so great a perfection. We have mentioned already that the connection between miniatures and woodcuts has been a very close one, indeed so close that probably both were often made by the same artists. The blockbooks were as a matter of fact only the cheaper editions of the very costly manuscripts of which the name *Biblia Pauperum* is a proof. In my opinion it is very likely that the art of the blockbook is entirely a Dutch art; the oldest and best blockbooks are without a doubt of Dutch origin (*Ars Moriendi, Biblia Pauperum, Historia Davidis, Speculum, etc.*). We nowadays know the style of the Dutch miniatures well enough from the numerous remaining manuscripts of that time, and in all these blockbooks we find this style again distinctly far more than that of the Flemish miniatures, there are further some xylographs, only in a German edition (*Seven Planets, Calender of Johannes de Gamundia*), which however exhibit undeniable signs of being copied and the composition of the pictures shows their Dutch origin. The "*Symbolum Apostolicum*" and the "*Fable of the sick Lion*" the "*Entechrist*" and others are probably of German origin, but the rather indifferent nature of their pictures cannot give any idea of the importance and the degree to which the blockbook flourished in Germany. Holland probably possessed a great industry and an important export trade in these books, which owing to the Latin text were also suitable for international use. The great skill which is evinced by the incunabula woodcuts in Holland directly after 1480 when printers started their presses everywhere in this country indicates also a thorough course of preparatory training.

* The occurring of cut-up blocks in P. van Os's books was a reason for some authors (e. g. Conway) to suspect these blockbooks to originate from Zwolle. This supposition is not tenable seeing that van Os, who had a very large printing-concern, got his woodcuts from everywhere; he got them from G. Leeu at Gouda and later at Antwerp, from Bellaert at Haarlem, from Snellaert at Delft. The woodcutter at Zwolle who appeared in 1484 in van Os's books was rather a mediocre artist, who could not supply the demands of so enterprising a printer.

If we regard the so-called invention of typography as a series of inventions each in its turn being an improvement of the preceding one, we have to wonder whether we should not look among the xylographists for the real invention of Laurens Coster, whose legend has lived through centuries with such tenacity. The assumption that blockbook printers in course of time conceived the idea of producing movable type and experimented with it without however applying the process further is after all very probable *.

Their attempts with all their possibilities may easily have become known to buyers or copyists of the blockbooks in Germany who immediately exploited them to the full. The *Cologne Chronicle of 1499* corresponds with this suggestion precisely; in it, it is stated explicitly that the art of printing with movable type was invented in Germany but that the first beginnings came from Holland. It is probable that especially Haarlem was referred to, not merely on account of the well-known legend but also owing to the woodcut illustrations which, as we shall see, can all be traced to this town. At any rate it would be of the greatest importance if it could be proved that blockbooks flourished in this town during the middle of the 15th century.

Hints by which to localise blockbooks may be derived from a close investigation of Dutch miniatures between 1430 and 1480, and this field of labour has been more or less forgotten until now. A first introduction is W. Vogelsang's *Holländische Miniaturen des späteren Mittelalters*, Strassburg 1899. The magnificently planned work by Byvanck and Hoogewerff ** however throws more light upon the subject. A certain number of connections can be established between the Dutch Bible in Vienna (Hofbibliothek Codex 2771) and that in London (B. M. No. 16,951); the miniatures of both books emanate from the Haarlem school of painting which school is well known owing to the works of Geertgen tot St. Jans. The former Bible is supposed to have been produced about 1460, the latter is dated 1474. Direct relation to miniatures of earlier manuscripts has not been

* A proof that at any rate later (about 1470) blockbook printers were also engaged in typography is to be found in the older edition of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* which has a typographic text.

** A. W. Byvanck and G. T. Hoogewerff. *La Miniature Hollandaise dans les manuscrits des 14^e, 15^e, 16^e siècles*, La Haye 1921-1922. Two parts have appeared up till now but Dr. B. has put a great part of his photographic material at my disposal.

found up till now, but it will probably be proved later on as soon as we have a complete summary of the Dutch art of illumination in the 15th century.

The following blockbooks are Dutch, that is to say at any rate Netherlandish :

Exercitium super Pater noster.

Servatius legende.

Apocalypse.

Historia Davidis seu Liber regum.

Ars Moriendi.

Biblia Pauperum.

Seven Planets (only inferior copy existing).

Canticum Canticorum (*Historia beatae Virginis ex Cantico canticorum*).

Speculum Humanae Salvationis.

Calendar of Johannes de Gamundia (only German copy existing).

Boec van den Houde (existing only in later bad copy).

Various theories have been put forward as to time and place of the origin of blockbooks. W. L. Schreiber has dealt with the matter profoundly in his *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au XV^e siècle*. However he looks at every work too much as a single appearance, too little in relation to the rest. Schreiber besides takes rather a number of works for German and dates many too late. It is puzzling to discover for what reason he used the description "Nieder-Rheinisch". Why should one look for an important centre of the art of woodcutting on the lower Rhine? Perhaps on account of the unassuming amateurish little pictures in the books by Quentell? We know very well the school of painting of these days in Cologne, it is entirely influenced by the Netherlands and does not suggest an independent artistic life.

Before dating a blockbook we have to ask ourselves which edition we are dealing with. It is not easy to solve this problem, for obviously most of the xylographs were also copied repeatedly and reprinted in the country of their origin. This is evident from specimens of the same book still existing which mostly differ considerably as regards their quality, minor variations are found frequently. The original books were always recut and copied in the leisurely manner of the middle ages;

but are we to believe that some of the blockbooks represent the original editions? We shall try to answer this question by speaking of each individual work.

To arrive at a fairly exact dating of the blockbooks one should proceed deductively, i. e. start with the latest and argue backwards. We are only on absolutely firm ground in the case of the woodcuts in the incunabula because time and place of origin are known or can be proved. We have to ask ourselves seriously: do the blockbook illustrations show any connection with the incunabula woodcuts? If not we can safely draw the conclusion that the former must be a good deal older.

And then we have to acknowledge that only the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, a xylograph which for general stylistic reasons has been estimated to be one of the latest, shows these immediate relations to the Haarlem woodcuts appearing in the books of Jacob Bellaert from 1483. The cutting of the pictures in the *Speculum* however does not yet show a marked degree of development and it may therefore be ten or fifteen years older. This assumption is confirmed by a certain relationship with the miniatures of the above mentioned Noordwyk-bible of 1474, which will be dealt with later on.

If we therefore date the *Speculum* about 1470 we can easily place the origin of the *Biblia Pauperum* ten to twenty years earlier. This work comes nearest to it, especially in the technique of the cutting and the obvious connection in what the woodcuts represent, but it gives one the impression of being older on account of the proportion of the figures to their surroundings and the lack of space in the composition.

The *Apocalypse*, *Historia Davidis* and *Ars Moriendi* forming a group of their own on account of their close relation (see the drawing of the heads, etc.), could be dated 1440 to 1460, as the latter, considering the style of the above mentioned books, could not have been made much later than 1460, whereas the primitive compositions of the *Apocalypse* with the earlier dresses appearing in it, can hardly be assigned to the second half of the 15th century. The *Exercitium super Pater Noster*, which reveals a much more skilful hand than the last named book, but which at the same time shows also a much older style can safely be assigned to an earlier date. Anyhow it has to be admitted that between the last mentioned blockbook and for instance the *Speculum* a consid-

erable difference of style is to be found, and that therefore a greater time interval must exist between the two.

As most of the blockbooks — as we shall see — can be brought into relation, it is probable that they also belong to the same school and indeed to that school from which the incunabula woodcuts originate towards the end of the XVth century. As these cuts — as far as the Netherlands are concerned — reach their highest perfection in Holland, especially in Haarlem, it does not seem absurd to look for the art of blockbooks in that centre. At present therefore no Netherlandish town can be named which could claim consideration as the cradle of this art with more justice. As to typography it would be of the greatest importance if we could establish that the art of the blockbook had reached considerable perfection in that town in the middle of the XVth century.

An indication of the Dutch origin of the blockbooks moreover is to be seen in the fact that a comparatively large number of them is nowadays to be found in Holland. This fact becomes still more significant if we bear in mind that Dutchmen hardly ever collected the productions of their own art, not to speak of foreign art. What is to be found in this country is here because it has always been here, and has been inherited by one generation from another. Mr. Meerman was about the only one who managed to amass an important collection of books, and in a modest way he even collected a number of valuable works of foreign origin. In Dutch libraries, however, manuscripts and good incunabula of any but Dutch origin are rare, as these collections are mostly formed by purchases at small auctions in places where valuable books were to be found by accident, or by legacies and gifts from amateurs. The type of the English collector who, with an excellent understanding of art, travelled about with a well filled purse buying everywhere and so formed a « Collection », we have never known at all in Holland. The stock of valuable Netherlandish manuscripts, and above all of Dutch incunabula in our libraries owes its importance and quantity to the abundance of books produced here; it was simply impossible for foreign collectors to purchase them all. It may be worth our while therefore to ascertain the amount of blockbooks which are either in Dutch libraries still or which can be traced back to Dutch ownership.

The *Apocalypse* is represented by two specimens in The Hague

(K. B. and Meerman) and one in Haarlem (Gemeentemuseum). One specimen of the *Ars Moriendi* is in the K. B. in The Hague, and one in Haarlem (Gemeentemuseum), whereas the London specimen (B. M.) belonged to P. Scriverius of Haarlem at the beginning of the 17th century. There is one specimen of the *Canticum Canticorum* at Haarlem (Gemeentemuseum). Three specimens and a fragment of the *Speculum* are in The Hague (Meerman) and three at Haarlem (Gemeentemuseum), whereas Dutch origin can be proved further for three others. The one in Geneva (Bibl. publ. de la ville) belonged in 1760 to the collector Marcus of Amsterdam; the one of the Earl of Crawford was formerly the property of Enschede at Haarlem, and finally the specimen in Manchester (Rylands Library) was in 1825 in the possession of Rendorp at Amsterdam. There is besides a fragment of the *Speculum* in the small Municipal Museum at Hoorn (a little town in N. Holland) which is the remainder of a specimen which from 1613 was in the possession of that town when it was destroyed by fire in 1838.

The Hague possesses one specimen of the *Biblia Pauperum* in the K. B. and three damaged ones at Meerman's. Whereas the one in St. Petersburg (Bibliothèque de l'Académie) belonged at the beginning of the 17th century to P. Scriverius of Haarlem.

The blockbooks Haarlem possesses have been there for a very long time, most of them at least since the 17th century. In four of them an engraved portrait of Coster of the 17th century is pasted; one *Speculum*, according to an inscription, belonged in 1586 to Willem Jansz Verver, lawyer at Haarlem; another one was once in the possession of Jacob van Campen. In 1862 Dr. de Vries wrote in his catalogue that the *Apocalypse*, the *Canticum Canticorum* and *Ars Moriendi* had been bound together but that the binding had been undone « to make the same handier for inspection ».

It will be seen from this enumeration that Haarlem is particularly noticeable among the Dutch towns.

The oldest Netherlandish blockbook seems to be the *Exercitium super Pater Noster* (Schreiber IV. p. 245) of which two editions are preserved, a chiro-xylographic one, the text of which has been written in Dutch (this is the older one), and a xylographic one of a somewhat later date with Dutch and Latin texts (Pl. I). The numerous round lines of these

woodcuts of the first edition, in which shading does not appear as yet, display the style of the beginning of the 15th century. The costumes in the pictures are hardly to be dated much later than 1430. The characteristic Dutch trees with large leaves (see title page) which we often notice in the miniatures and later also in the *Biblia Pauperum* are again found here. Is this an original edition or a copy? Most probably the *Exercitium*, which has been preserved (oldest edition in Paris. B. N.) is an early if not a first edition, as the rather skilful but quite primitive way of cutting, as yet ignorant of the use of shading, seems contemporary with the style of drawing (round folds and defective perspective) and the composition of the prints all point to the beginning of the 15th century. The expression in the figures in general is also so well marked and so good that one need not suspect a copy here. The *Exercitium* stands quite alone as for the present no other book can be connected with it*.

It represents a style of a much earlier date than the books with which we shall have to deal hereafter. A German copy in a one-leaf fragment is preserved at Kremsmünster. The *Servatius-legend* is equally isolated (Schreiber Plate 11)**. The only existing copy is in Brussels Bibl. Royale, which has a French text (Pl. 2).

It is quite possible that this book was produced in the neighbourhood of Maastricht, where St. Servatius was worshipped in particular. The style of the woodcuts points to the middle of the 15th century and the hypothesis of Schreiber seems quite reasonable that it was cut in 1461 or 1468 for the pilgrims who came to Maastricht in order to witness the exhibition of the relics of St. Servatius which took place every seven years. There is no striking evidence as to this only preserved specimen being a copy (Comp. single woodcut Schr. No. LXXXXVI).

Whereas these two works stand quite apart the xylographs we are going to deal with now belong without any doubt to one and the same school. Two separate groups however are to be distinguished, namely the *Apocalypse*, *Historia Davidis* and *Ars Moriendi* (the last mentioned being the culmination of this group) on the one

* See Facsimile edition P. Kristeller *Exercitium super Pater Noster*, Lichtdrucktafeln, Berlin 1908.

** Compare : Facsimile edition *Die Servatius Legende*, Berlin 1911, Graphische Gesellschaft XV. Veröffentlichung.

hand and the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the *Canticum Canticorum* and the originals of the German copies of the *Seven Planets* and of the *Calender of Job. de Gamundia* on the other. The last group is to be connected through the *Speculum* with the woodcuts which appeared from 1483 in the books printed at Haarlem by Jacob Bellaert.

The *Apocalypse* (Schreiber IV, p. 160) of which the oldest editions are in The Hague, in Munich and Manchester *, gives really as regards composition the most primitive and the oldest impression (Pl. 3) no effort is made to show depth, the figures are simply put side by side and no attempt is made at landscape. The book is solely a picture book without text, there are merely some explanations added between the illustrations. The drawing of the figures in their garments with the angular folds is however of a later date than is the *Exercitium super Pater Noster*. The woodcuts in all editions (there are a good many, all more or less varying in quality) make rather an awkward impression and their artistic value does not at all correspond with the lively manner of the designer, which is so full of variety. A certain connection can be discovered between these plates and those of the *Historia Davidis* and of the *Ars Moriendi*, although they must be regarded as belonging to a more immature period. While no shading has been used the drawing of the faces and the gestures of the figures are closely related in the three blockbooks. For this reason one can fix the date of production of the specimens which have been preserved of this xylograph approximately between 1440 and 1450. The costumes and peaked caps etc., should be noticed, but the model must be much older, therefore we have good reason to suppose that the original of the *Apocalypse* has been lost and that only copies remain (The relationship is shown in the single woodcut : Schreiber, No 941, Dodgson. A. 43).

As mentioned already a relationship with the *Apocalypse* is shown in the *Historia Davidis seu Liber Regum* ** (Schreiber IV p. 146), which has a printed text beneath the pictures (Pl. 4 and 7).

* See Facsimile edition : *Die Apocalypse, älteste Blockbuchaussage*, von P. Kristeller, Berlin 1916; and *l'Apocalypse; Vol. I des monuments de xylographie, reproduits par A. S. Pilinski, Paris, 1883.*

** Facsimile edition : *Liber Regum*, reproduced from the copy in the University Library in Insbruck, introduction by R. Hochegger, Leipzig 1892.

The composition is somewhat crowded, lacking order, but very Dutch. The figures are most expressive, the gestures are not without conviction, the ensemble is decidedly epic. Here we find shading used for the first time. A relationship exists here with the miniatures of the Dutch Bible in Vienna, which is particularly obvious in the general character of the representation, sometimes even also in the drawing of the figures which indicate undoubtedly that they belong to one school. (Notice the illustrations and compare the figures of miniature App. B with the woodcut 7A and the gesticulating old man in miniature App. C with that in the woodcut 4B), we therefore feel inclined to believe that the *Historia Davidis* was cut about 1460.

Although probably later and presumably to be dated about 1470 the blockbook *The seven Planets* (Schreiber IV, p. 47) shows a certain connection with the *Historia Davidis* (Pl. 5); one should pay attention to the figures, trees and castles. The preserved specimen is a rather coarse (and probably German) copy. We shall see later on that the incunabula woodcuts which appeared in 1481 in *De Gesten der Romeynen* at G. Leeu's of Gouda show some connection with this blockbook.

The *Ars Moriendi* (Schreiber IV, p. 253 and plates LXXXXVIII-CX, the best edition in the London B. M.) the finest among the blockbooks* is the culmination of this group and at the same time of the whole art of blockbooks (Pl. 6 and 7B). Here we find a great master at work, who saw deeply into the hearts of his contemporaries, for no other xylograph has been copied so often everywhere. The fear of death, the consolation of the just, and the anxieties of the sinner in the middle ages, probably have never been represented so powerfully and expressively as here. The artist excels not only as a designer but also as a woodcutter, the fine gradation by shaded lines and the drawing of the undulating hair is only found again after 1483 in the work of the Haarlem woodcutter who undoubtedly knew this model. The rich composition as well as the attitude and expression of the figures is characteristic of Dutch work.

It will be difficult to name at once paintings or miniatures which show direct relationship to these prints; the very dainty drawing with

* Facsimile edition : *Ars Moriendi* : a reproduction of the copy in the B. M. edited by W. H. Rylands, London 1881.

the exceedingly delicate outlines reminds one on the whole of the style of the miniatures in the Leyden prayerbook (see Byvanck and Hoogewerff, p. 87); the small standing female figure however on the left in front of the picture (plate 6A) does show some relationship to the woman on the left in front of the Raising of Lazarus (San Carlos Museum, Mexico; App. D) a painting belonging to the Ouwater-school which must have been made at Haarlem about 1460.

This blockbook is in many respects closely related to the cuts of the *Historia Davidis*; see the drawing of the heads, the folds and gestures and compare the mostly very good grouping of the figures around the bed of the dying man with the similar representation in the *Historia Davidis*. If one is guided by the general impression of the pictures of the *Ars Moriendi* one can easily imagine that this blockbook originated about the middle of the 15th century; if the cuts were miniatures we should not hesitate to give them this date; the work moreover is so superior in quality, the force of the expression so excellent that also in this case one need not think of an imitation of an older school and we may take it for granted that the preserved (London) specimen is the original edition.

The popularity which this book enjoyed was great; as it was copied in Germany and France as well as in the Netherlands. The best known copies are perhaps the engravings which the Master E. S. made after them. There is besides a series of German copies in the form of blockbooks. (The largest collection of them is in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, xyl. 14-19).

In 1485 good French copies appeared in *L'Art de bien mourir* printed by Pierre Pincerne dit Bouteiller in Lyons and in 1490 in an *Ars Moriendi* probably also printed at Lyons. (Hain 1832; Bibl. Nat.; Rés. No 6230 bis)*.

The *Biblia Pauperum* (Schreiber IV, p. 1, the finest and oldest edition amongst others in London, Berlin and Brussels) is also related to the above mentioned blockbook (Pl. 8 and 9). Two Dutch editions are known: the older one contains forty leaves and the other one, made perhaps ten or fifteen years later, possesses sixty. The first one has been published in many editions and several specimens of it are

* See reproduction in *Claudin l'Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France au XV^e et XVI^e siècle*, T. III, p. 210 and T. IV, p. 437.

preserved. The shape of this blockbook containing prints only to which here and there some short explanation has been added, makes a very early impression. It is probable that the original and the model for the later copies which have been preserved originated before 1450. The compositions bordered by architectural design remind one of earlier miniatures; landscape still plays an inferior part whereas the proportion of the figures is somewhat primitive considering the size of the pictures. The representation of the Nativity in which the Holy Virgin rests on a couch and the Child lies in a raised crib is often found elsewhere but not later than about the beginning of the 15th century. We find moreover dresses in the *Biblia Pauperum* which cannot be dated later than 1450 (for instance the woman's padded cap in Pl. 8B)¹ and we also see fashions of about 1460. This confusion was probably due to the drawing of later editions being altered here and there to suit the fashion of the day. The same peculiarity is to be noted in the *Exercitium super Pater Noster* of which an older and probably the original edition is preserved, and a copy of ten or twenty years later in which the garments are also changed.

The fifty page edition (Paris B. N.) of the *Biblia Pauperum* which has been preserved to us may be dated between 1460 and 1465, the style of many of the woodcuts being too close to that of the *Speculum* woodcuts (to be dealt with later on) to be considered as belonging to a much earlier period. An indication for the dating is given by the *Alphabet grotesque* of 1464, which we owe without a doubt to the master of the *Biblia Pauperum* (see Dodgson *Alphabet grotesque* of 1464 reproduced in facsimile London 1899). This work, considering the style, may be put between the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum*; the treatment of eyes and hair shows a great similarity but more shaded lines and hatchings are used than in the *Biblia Pauperum* and it may be considered a work by the same master of a somewhat later date.

The woodcuts of the *Biblia Pauperum* * are the work of a very skilled hand and belong to the best work of this kind produced in the

* These compositions which we find again almost unaltered in the *Speculum*, and which were also taken up by the Haarlem and Gouda woodcutters with insignificant alterations, were very popular. Engravers too like Is. van Meckenem and others copied them; they may be traced back probably to the miniatures.

Netherlands. The cutting is graceful and supple, controlled by an exceedingly well trained hand. The scenes of the new Testament in the centre with the models from the Old Testament on either side, are all rendered with great vivacity. The drawing is full of expression, but the distinct notion of perspective is still lacking. Excellent for instance is the Nativity in the stable where the Holy Virgin rests on a couch and Joseph is sitting comfortably in an armchair warming his feet at a small fire; the Child lies in the raised crib and an ox and an ass gaze upon Him. Everything is excellently drawn with great charm, something of the quality of a family scene is given to the whole representation which is specially Dutch (Pl. 8A).

The *Biblia Pauperum* was copied and reprinted continuously in the 15th century especially, in Germany. The mediocrity of these editions as compared with the excellence of the Dutch ones is a sufficient indication as to where the original must be sought for. Two of these German copies are of peculiar importance as they are dated 1470 and 1471 (Munich Staatsbibliothek, xyl. 24 and 26), which therefore gives us an earlier date for the original book.

A further development of the style of the *Biblia Pauperum* is found in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis** (Schreiber IV, p. 114) (oldest edition among others in Haarlem, London and the Hague) which can be related directly with the woodcuts which appeared in Haarlem from 1483 (Pl. 10, 11 and 33, compare closely with the Bellaert cuts). This blockbook therefore forms a link between xylographs and incunabula woodcuts. As far as outward appearance is concerned it represents also a form of transition: the illustrations here show in a higher degree the character of text illustrations; this text moreover is itself typographical in some editions, which are even considered to be the earliest.

The drawing of the figures and landscapes is much more plastic and more widely spaced than in the older blockbooks, and the woodcuts also possess the completeness of miniatures; the style, however, still reminds one very strongly of that of the *Biblia Pauperum*. In the beginning the same kind and amount of shade lines are used, but the comb-like hatchings already appear which, as we shall see, charac-

* Facsimile edition: *Speculum humanae salvationis*, par J. Lutz et P. Perdrizet; Leipzig, K. Hiersemann, 1907.

terise the Haarlem woodcutter. The similarity to the Bellaert prints, considering the position of the figures, the drawing of the landscapes, etc., is very striking and it is obvious therefore to see one and the same master in all these works. In this case the *Speculum* illustrations would belong to his earliest productions and he might be a direct pupil of the master of the *Biblia Pauperum*. But the miniatures of the Dutch Bible in London (B. M. No. 16,951), which was finished in 1474 by Hughe Surgyn at Noordwyk must be mentioned at the same time. They are, as we shall see later, closely connected with the Haarlem woodcuts, but they also show a certain relationship to the prints in the *Speculum*. Compare for instance the *Liberatio Israel a Pharaone* in the block-book and the Bible with the title picture of *Der Sonderen Troest* (see below chapter on Haarlem). These connections are so marked that one is inclined to assume that miniaturist and woodcutter were one and the same person or at least that they worked in the same studio. This relationship is of the greatest importance for purposes of localising the *Speculum*. Since we have established that it is closely related as well with the woodcuts which appeared from 1483 at Jacob Bellaert's as with the miniatures of the Noordwyk Bible, we may assume with sufficient certainty that it originated at Haarlem. Its connection with the *Biblia Pauperum* also brings this work into the Haarlem sphere.

The date of the origin of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* may be considered to be about 1470. The prints show a much more original conception; the treatment is stylish and the artist shows an acute sense for space. The landscapes are more detailed and the proportion of the figures represented in relation to their surroundings is drawn more correctly. As far as the *Speculum* is concerned we may safely assume that the specimens which have been preserved are the original edition.

The original of the representation of the month of the "Calendar of Job. de Gamundia" (Pl. 12) of which only a German copy is preserved, also belong to this group. Attention should be paid to the characteristic trees found already in the *Biblia Pauperum* which often appear later in the Bellaert cuts.

The *Canticum Canticorum* * (Schreiber IV, p. 151) shows apart

* Facsimile edition : *Canticum Canticorum*, reproduced from the Scriverius copy in the B. M. by J. Berjeau, London 1860.

from great likeness also some differences from the blockbooks mentioned here; the pictures do not quite possess the same artistic value, they have not been cut with such assurance and style, and few shadings have been used. Folds are indicated with straight lines with a hook, the latter being characteristic of all Dutch xylographs. The type of drawing is fairly common, but the composition differs altogether from the other xylographs which have been mentioned and this clearly points to a different master. The many straight female figures, often in a well drawn but artificial landscape, are not without expression and often reveal a great charm. The woodcuts though they frequently lack assurance display ultimately a certain relationship with those of the *Speculum* and at present at any rate it is difficult to relate them to another work in this connection. 1470 to 1475 may be given as the approximate date of their origin.

The *Historia Sanctae Crucis* (Schreiber IV, p. 362) has not been preserved in its original form. The memory of it lives on in very rough and mediocre copies of the woodcuts of this blockbook which appeared in 1483 at J. Veldener's at Utrecht *. (Boec van den Houte C. A. 690). They suggest a Dutch original belonging probably to the group of the *Historia Davidis* or the *Biblia Pauperum*. At Nürenberg (Germanisches Museum) a fragment of a German xylographic edition, probably a later copy, exists,

* Facsimile edition : J. Berjeau, *Historia Sanctae crucis*, London, 1863.

CHAPTER III

HAARLEM

In 1483 Jacob Bellaert, the printer, born at Zierikzee, settled at Haarlem. He was closely connected with Gerard Leeu at Gouda; in the first book which he published, *Lyden ons Heeren* (C. A. 1157) he used types and woodcuts which came from the Gouda printer. He ordered his printer's device however from a local artist and we recognise in it the first dated product of the Haarlem woodcutter. The device shows a griffin holding a shield surrounded by ornamental tendrils in which the coat of arms of Haarlem is arranged at the top. It is a masterpiece of illustration, the drawing is rich and the contrast of black and white is particularly charming.

If the Laurens Jansz. Coster who (according to the archives) left Haarlem in 1483, is the early and famous printer, this year 1483, during which the first Bellaert book appeared, gains in importance. If we look at Haarlem as the cradle of the art of blockbooks (and we saw that no other town can be named in this connection with greater probability) it is rather tempting to imagine the sequence of the facts to have been as follows :

Laurens Jansz. Coster was a printer of blockbooks, he produced chiefly xylographic books and he occupied himself without a doubt with typography as well. When towards the end of his life his business was probably declining and he left Haarlem, Bellaert, attracted by the fame of the excellent woodcut artist who was there, came to settle in Haarlem. He dropped however the old fashioned method of blockbooks and applied exclusively the new way of printing with movable types; these types he bought of G. Leeu who was already managing a large printing office at Gouda. In the first books which he printed we notice at once the very clever hand of the Haarlem woodcutter, the same hand which seems recognisable in the pictures of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.

In the following year (1484) the artist displayed his craft completely in the richly illustrated work *Der Sonderen Troest* (C. A. 1656) which contains no fewer than 32 pictures. The large title woodcut is especially interesting; it represents the Fall of Man and its fatal consequences (Pl. 13); the Downfall of Lucifer and his Followers; Adam and Eve, plucking the forbidden fruit; Noah's ark; the perishing of the Pharaoh

of Egypt and the Baptism of Christ. This woodcut reveals the school of the blockbooks, but the various events are not represented as separate pictures but combined in a single rich composition which does not appear overcrowded in spite of the numerous groups. The whole action takes place in a landscape; in the middle extends the vast sea which continues in the form of a river in the foreground; high rocks rise on both sides. The representation of the waves, the reflection of the light on the water in which the motion is almost perceivable, is remarkably fine.

The chief scene of this picture shows an extraordinary similarity to the death of the Pharaoh in a miniature of the above mentioned Noordwyk Bible (App. E); the arrangement is exactly the same: in the middle the sea, from which the rocks rise on either side, reaches up to the horizon. We also see in both pictures a building like a castle with high towers and the same wavy lines of the coast. Here the Egyptian king on his prancing horse in the waves is drawn in a still more life-like manner and with greater freshness than in the miniature dated about ten years earlier. In both, in woodcut and miniature, the group of emigrating Israelites — notice the child in the loose dress who comes last and the woman with the infant — though also richer in the drawing, shows a direct relationship to the *Liberatio Israel a Pharaone* in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Pl. I I C) which has already been mentioned above.

The relationship of these Bellaert cuts to the miniatures of the Bible is found again in many other examples. One of the following pictures for instance shows the devil kneeling before God (Pl. I 4 A); this print as far as composition and type of faces are concerned — see especially the face of God with his long flowing beard — is related directly to the miniature of this Bible where God appears to Abraham * (App. F). The same comb-like shade lines and hard, sharp outlines are found here, and one is inclined to draw the conclusion that the miniaturist is really a woodcutter.

The following woodcuts in *Der Sonderen Troest*, mostly consisting of three detachable parts, which can be arranged at will, in such a way that the greatest variety of pattern may be attained, are distinguished particularly by the excellent drawing and picturesque treatment. The

*This representation is found in a similar composition in the Dutch Bible of 1439 (in the Munich University Library, Cod. Germ. 1102).

control of perspective might be called masterly considering the period; the black and white tiles of the floors are especially ornamental. The faces, above all those of the bearded men remind us strongly of the types of the Bouts-Ouwater school (Pl. 14 and 15).

The style of the Haarlem woodcutter is easy to define; his prints are on the whole very detailed, though often a certain negligence is noticeable in the treatment; he draws large eyes with large pupils and exuberant undulating hair. He makes the outlines thick but he graduates the inner drawing with numerous shade lines, fine as cobwebs, and with dots of extreme delicacy. He tries to express plastic roundness by the aid of heavy — sometimes too heavy — comb-like shading, which runs along the outline or the fold. On the whole his figures do not stand firmly on the ground, they frequently seem to hover above it. In the figures he represents, he always aims at movement; he depicts them as running or gesticulating and he frequently tries to represent the desperate wringing of hands. This, according to our ideas, sometimes leads to the most extraordinary errors in the drawing, which however never loses its power of expression. His trees are also characteristic; he has three kinds: those with round, those with large oblong, more or less naturalistic leaves, and those whose foliage is drawn with many fine dotted lines (see for example, Pl. 20 B).

In the same year (1484) the *Boeck des Gulden Throens* (C. A. 1343) was printed by Bellaert. This book is adorned with four woodcuts, representing the Sage instructing the Soul. But for small alterations in the attitude of the figures, the cuts are exactly the same. The broadly drawn figure of the Sage contrasts with the background as a silhouette does, giving the illusion of being illuminated from the back. The attitude and the drawing of the hands again show a certain relationship to the *Speculum* (Pl. 16 B and 11 B).

In 1485 two books came from this press: *De Historie van Jason* (C. A. 1092) and *De Historie van Trojen* (C. A. 1095), in which the woodcutter gave us his best work. The first is adorned with a set of woodcuts in half-folio which represent the story of Jason (Pl. 17-19).

The landscape here is particularly fine and the sphere of open air life is expressed with special charm in the individual groups. Still more delightful and very picturesque are the woodcuts with which the artist adorned the *De Historie van Trojen*; they have the completeness of the

Dutch miniatures and also show the same susceptibility of colour and light which the woodcutter tries to attain by abundant shading. The result of this is a delicacy of tone which give these prints almost the appearance of drawings. What has been said about the picturesque qualities of Dutch woodcuts above all applies in this case. The narrative character is often pleasing and entertaining (Pl. 20-26).

It is surprising to notice how the woodcut in which Paris is represented facing the difficult problem of choosing the most beautiful of the three goddesses almost becomes an excellent miniature (Pl. 23 A). Here we see the summer landscape in all its loveliness : a little wood, a few single trees and a small brook which winds through flowers and grass. The next woodcut in which Hercules and Theseus fight with two Amazons has more grandeur and style. The nervous but resolute drawing of the lines of the hilly landscape with the towers of a fortified town almost gives the impression of a modern picture, and the charge of two horsemen rushing at each other is most forcible. One obtains a still profounder impression of the master's art from the woodcut of Hercules with the three lions. This is a work of art of the very first order, owing to the very decorative composition and to the wonderful contrast of black and white. How powerfully Hercules swings his sword and how desperate and defenceless are the lions which stand out like magnificent ornaments against the dark background.

In the picture of *The Fight before Troy* the artist attains a similar though less strong effect owing to the crowded composition.

This series of woodcuts does not only represent the best work of the Haarlem artist, but it also claims a place of honour among all the works of 15th century Netherlandish art in general which have been handed down to us. Here we admire the ingenuous and flowery manner of the narrator — the original and lively representation of the history of Troy, where the numerous heroes and heroines who play their parts in it have become in the imagination of the artist noblemen and ladies of the 15th century, whilst the town of Troy appears as a mediaeval fortress with proud castles and towers. This apparently child-like habit of representing events of long-ago in the garments of the artist's epoch, nevertheless affords an interesting insight into the psychology of mediaeval man. Imagine this story represented in pictures of people dressed in modern garments and surrounded by modern buildings!

Our artist who revived in these prints the classical story of Troy in the shape of a novel dealing with the age of chivalry, always remains, particularly in this work, a painter. His pictures all resemble miniatures, they show the same completeness, the same abundance of shading of light and darkness.

Marvellous is the way in which the artist who never aims at effects produced by expressive strong lines, succeeded in attaining great results by delicate, fine hatchings which impart so much tone and shade to his cuts. The perfect harmony in the distribution of black and white produces moreover a picturesque effect, which has not only never been surpassed in woodcuts, but which hardly finds its equal anywhere. It is especially in this cycle illustrating the story of Troy that we find all that wealth of beauty in his art which impresses us so profoundly.

Some of these woodcuts also show a relationship with the miniatures of the Noordwyk Bible. Compare for instance the castle of the miniature App. G, which is very similar to the fortress in woodcut 25 B representing the town of Troy. Compare also the knights of miniature App. H, fighting with long swords with those in woodcut 25 A; both illustrations also show the typical beach grass. The relationship of the miniature in which Moses breaks the crown of the Pharaoh (App. I) with the woodcut 20 A, in which Saturn and Titan hold conference, is perhaps even more pronounced. Compare the profile, the position of the feet on the floor and the architecture of the rooms, which have the same tiled floors.

At the end of the same year (1485) Bellaert also published the *Boeck van den Proprieteiten der dinghen* by Bartholomeus de Glanvilla (C. A. 258) in which a series of eleven half-folio cuts were included. The first one represents God the Father surrounded by the sun (Pl. 27). He sits on a royal throne and holds a sceptre and an orb in His hand; His gorgeous royal cloak is rich in folds. This picture produces a fantastic effect owing to the strong black and white contrast. It is a remarkable fact that this print is an exact copy of the title-miniature in the Dutch Bible (now in Vienna) which points again to the close connection of the woodcutters and the miniaturists.

The other illustrations are also as rich in power of effect as they are picturesque. Illustration 28 A shows the Fall of the Angels. God the Father enthroned, circumfused by light, is adored by the faithful

Angels while the rebels in the shape of hideous devils fall down into the abyss.

The print of the twelve months, in which each one shows the labour of the respective month, is most charming (Pl. 29 B). This conception, quite popular for centuries, is expressed here in a novel and life-like manner. Each picture of the calendar indicates the peculiarity of the month by showing the occupation of the workmen, whilst the ensemble with its twelve small circles forms a graceful illustration of the page,

Plate 28 B is a bold and splendid composition. We see a fortified town behind which a wide landscape extends with lakes and mountains, islands and woods. As regards the workmanship of the woodcutter all these prints are often a little uncertain, though they are rich in conception and distinguished for picturesqueness as well as for their vivid narrative power which is full of excellent observation of nature.

In the following year (1486) Bellaert printed the *Evangelien en Epistelen* (C. A. 695) which is adorned with twenty-two illustrations from the hand of the Haarlem woodcutter. This series is not complete and probably gives us a clue to a lost work. The missing portion of this work, namely twenty-seven pictures, is found in the edition of *Ludolphus' Leven van Jesus* printed in 1499 by P. van Os at Zwolle (C. A. 1185), together with the majority (15) of those woodcuts of the above named book of Bellaert printed here for the second time. We have thus a complete series of Ludolphus-illustrations by the Haarlem woodcutter, so that consequently it may be assumed with a great measure of probability that Bellaert published this work, or that at least he prepared the edition, as he ordered the pictures for it.

Some of these illustrations, The Nativity, The Adoration of the Kings, The Massacre of the Innocents, The Wedding of Canaa, are variations of the same themes in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum**.

The best of this set are: The way to Emmaus (Pl. 30 A) in which the three wanderers are in serious conversation with lively gestures while they walk along, and The Raising of Lazarus, where the event is represented in a vivid manner. But on the whole the work of these woodcuts is a little untidy and hasty. The fact however that now and then

* These subjects were very popular in the 15th century; Israel van Meckenem and some engravers of his group have also copied them.

miniatures are found which are more or less exact copies clearly indicates that these woodcuts created a school; an unquestionable example is to be found in miniature App. J. of *The Wedding of Canaa*, which is an exact copy of the woodcut 30 B.

In 1486 there also appeared in Haarlem Pierre Michault's *Doctrinael des Tyts* (C. A. 1254), enriched with 16 quarto woodcuts. In a sweet, luxuriously drawn landscape (16 A and B) the author meets Virtue, who offers to lead him through the schools of Life. In the school of Vanity he listens, hidden behind the pillars of a side-gallery, to the pernicious principles which the youthful teacher propounds to his eager pupils. The perspective of the hall of pillars is drawn very prettily. The figure of the lecturer reminds us of the types from the school of Geertgen tot Sint Jans.

One of the most charming woodcut works of the 15th century is certainly the *Boeck van den Pelgheryn* (C. A. 1376), a Dutch translation of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*, published by Bellaert in 1486. The only existing specimen in the K. B. in The Hague, the woodcuts of which are carefully coloured, possesses all the charm which incunabulas can offer; it is a work of art of remarkable congruity; the pictures, the types and the size of the pages are in perfect harmony. Therefore the single reproduced woodcut loses much of the beauty which it possesses in the midst of the text of the original. The reproductions are taken from the edition of Eckert van Homberch in Delft, who after the disappearance of Bellaert purchased the wood-blocks and published the *Boeck van den Pelgheryn* (C. A. 1377) once more in 1498. In this specimen at the K. B. in the Hague the pictures are not coloured (Pl. 31-33).

These woodcuts are perhaps the most intrinsically Dutch which were made in the 15th century; they possess all their advantages and all their faults. The workmanship is often curiously rough and neglected, the pictures however are particularly expressive and full of action, they reveal the artist's unprejudiced view of a myriad details. In none of his works is the narrator's style so life-like and at the same time so delightfully ingenuous. The artist represents the manifold troubles which the pilgrim meets on the way of life and the terrible phantoms which torture him.

The landscape with the frolicking rabbits where the pilgrim sleeps is

most delightful (Pl. 12A) and the forest towards which he wanders with his long stick is very mysterious. These woodcuts are full of child-like fantasy and in perfect harmony with the charming old Dutch text. In the distribution of black and white he attains excellent results. The artist shows in this work a lively feeling for reality and a well trained eye for decorative effects.

His activity in Haarlem comes to an end with this book. In the following year, after Bellaert had disappeared from this town, we find him however in Antwerp, where he is working for Gerard Leeu, the printer. His activity there will be dealt with in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER IV
GOUDA AND UTRECHT

§ A. GOUDA

The woodcutters of Gouda and Utrecht, whose works from 1480 onwards, appeared in printed books in these towns, are also direct descendants of the blockbook school. They are most intimately related to each other and they also possess a direct relationship to the Haarlem school of which they appear to be imitators.

In 1480 a woodcutter's work appeared for the first time in Gouda in an edition of the *Dialogus Creaturarum* (C. A. 560) printed by G. Leeu; this was a popular book which had no fewer than nine editions in eleven years. These first works are by far the best which the master has done. A characteristic feature of all his cuts is that they are rather amateurish (Pl. 34-40); they are somewhat shallow, and they lack the picturesque element without however possessing great steadiness and precision of line. The attempts to represent landscapes are feeble and this woodcutter never succeeded in giving depth to his pictures. In comparison with the Haarlem work they give at first sight the impression of being earlier works.

Nevertheless the woodcuts of the *Dialogus* have a charm of their own; a childlike joy prevails in them, and the character of the different animals is often happily hit upon; they even show a certain humour at times. They lack the narrative character of the Haarlem woodcuts but they are more abstract and they bring forward in a higher degree the individuality of the animal which is represented (Pl. 34-35).

In the following year the book called the *Gesten der Romeinen* (C. A. 826) was published at the same printing office, and the illustrations of this book show the character of the blockbooks still more markedly, but the work is rather rough and bears the stamp of provincialism (Pl. 36-37). The single episodes of the descriptions of the lives of the heroes are given in separate sections, or sometimes they are combined in rather awkward single compositions; they lack life and warmth and their technique is poor. The woodcutter here has begun to apply hatchings more frequently, while they are scarcely ever met with in the pictures of the *Dialogus*.

The four woodcuts in the *Vier Uterste** (C. A. 1316) which

* These four woodcuts were also used in 1482 by Ar. de Keyser in Oudenarde in *Quatre dernières choses* (C. A. 586).

appeared in Gouda in 1482, possess little charm. Here the artist began to use the rough comb-like shadings which, together with eyes which are too large, are the characteristic marks of this master. The complete development of his style is to be seen in the series of 68 quarto woodcuts (and the 16^{mo} copies of them) which were probably originally made for a *Ludolphus* edition, but which appear scattered in numerous books of Gerard Leeu (Pl. 38-39). They are copies of popular pictures of the Passion and they go back to the same originals from which the Haarlem woodcutter copied his. The work is rough and clumsy; the workmanship, especially as regards the treatment of the shade-lines and the eyes, resembles closely the Haarlem manner, but it is much less accomplished. It is to be regretted that this series of woodcuts, all of which belong to the weakest produced by the Dutch woodcutters of the 15th century, has been reprinted so frequently; it is to be found in numerous books by G. Leeu, once even in Haarlem (in the first book printed by Bellaert there in 1483, see above) and also in the books from the printing offices at Zwolle, Deventer and Antwerp right up to the 16th century.

We have already mentioned that these little pictures were very much in vogue in the 15th century and that they appeared in numberless copies in those days. Some of them, for instance the Creation, lead us back directly to the miniatures in the Bible manuscripts. Apart from Israel van Meckenem they were also engraved by the so-called *Master of the Marter der Zehntausend* (vide Lehrs 111, p. 363)*. These engravings are pasted into a Dutch prayer-book which is in the British Museum.

Eight illustrations by the hand of the Gouda artist (Pl. 40) which are to be found in the *Seven Sacramenten*, published by G. Leeu in 1484 (C. A. 1492) are also rough but rather more personal.

We may state without regret that his activity came to an end in that year. This is of course due to the fact that Leeu left Gouda and went to Antwerp and he apparently did not take his woodcutter with him.

* Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog den deutschen, französischen und niederländischen Kupferstiche im XV^{en} Jahrh.*, Wien 1908.

The woodcuts with which Jan Veldener in 1480 adorned the *Boeck des gulden Throens* (C. A. 1342) and the *Fasciculus Temporum* (C. A. 1479) are closely related to the Gouda woodcuts (Pl. 40 and 41). The likeness with the *Dialogus* pictures is especially striking (see the eyes and the shade-lines).

In the *Boeck des gulden Throens* the worthy Old Man appears sitting or standing always instructing the Soul, who in the shape of a Virgin listens to his admonitions. These little pictures are not without power of expression, but they are not works of great artistic value; the patterns of the borders however are drawn well and carefully.

In the *Fasciculus* a series of pictures by the same woodcutter is also to be found, which possess certain merits. Illustration 41D represents the re-building of the town of Utrecht; this picture with the hoisted flags on the towers reminds one strongly of similar pictures of towns in the *Historia Davidis* and the *Seven Planets* (see above).

A folio woodcut representing the torturing of Saints appears in Veldener's *Passionael* of the same year (C. A. 1757) and this picture is again a blockbook composition which has been altered to some degree.

The woodcuts Veldener used for his *Epistelen en Evangelien* in the following year are the work of quite a different hand (C. A. 690). At first glance they make the impression of being earlier and more primitive, but it is antiquated work which reveals its provincial character (Pl. 41). They are all conventional pictures and probably copies of older (perhaps German) models. In the same book we find one of the cut-up plates from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.

In summing up we recognise that the Utrecht woodcuts do not yield a rich harvest, and the attempts that have occasionally been made to discover in Utrecht an early and important centre for typography and even for blockbooks are at any rate not substantiated by the woodcut illustrations which have been preserved, as they point in no way to an important activity in this town.

CHAPTER V

ANTWERP

In 1486 Bellaert's printing press disappeared from Haarlem, and in the beginning of the following year the woodcutter who was in his service appears at Antwerp in the books of G. Leeu, who no doubt had been acquainted with him for some time already and immediately availed himself of the opportunity of engaging the artist.

In that year he illustrated the *Historia van Parys ende Vienna* (C. A. 942) with a cycle of 25 prints in semi-folio (Pl. 42-44). We find here the same genial descriptive qualities which characterise his Haarlem works. The pictures are splendid and full of variety and the groups are cleverly composed. The most beautiful of them are certainly the interiors, which are reproduced with an inimitable sense for colour. These colours are suggested by many shade lines, fine as gossamer; the tiled floors are beautifully graduated in tone and give an abundance of light and dark to the pictures. The whole possesses a delicate charm.

In 1487 Gerard Leeu published a *Ludolphus* (C. A. 1181) which contains several folio-woodcuts by this artist, and they deserve our full attention. The presentment of the Last Supper, where Christ and the twelve Disciples are standing round a table, is especially bold and original (Pl. 45 A.) The circle of the Disciples is rounded off to perfection, the dominating central figure being that of Christ*. The remarkable delicacy which he has attained in the art of woodcutting deserves a word of praise in this picture. How detailed and how precise is the application of the innumerable dots and shaded lines which give so much tone to the ensemble! The representation of Christ as Salvator Mundi too is characteristic of the artist's style. He made an entirely new picture of this conventional print; the gorgeous flowered carpet as background and the well chosen shaded parts produce an incomparably picturesque effect (Pl. 45 B). The Baptism of Christ which we see here is almost identical in conception with the earlier representation which he gave three years earlier in *Der Sonderen Troest* (Pl. 46 and 13).

The last work, showing the artist at the height of his power and revealing his very graceful style, is the set of illustrations of *Hoofkyn van Devotien* (C. A. 985) published by Leeu in 1487. The book is

* The same representation in which Christ and the Apostles are also seen standing is to be found in a miniature in a small prayer-book in the B. M. (add. MS 15525) and also later in a woodcut by Jacob Cornelis.

adorned with twelve woodcuts in quarto which represent allegorically the Soul coming to God's garden on hearing His voice. The Soul listens attentively, advances, and enters the garden; there the Virtues instruct it till at last the Lord Himself approaches it (Pl. 47 and 48). These pictures breathe a childlike piety and a suave devotion. The little walled-in gardens in which trees and plants grow luxuriantly and at whose centre the Spring of Life wells, are permeated by an atmosphere of touching reverence.

We have already said that this work is the last which shows the high standard of our woodcutter's art. It is to be regretted that from this period his works became weaker and weaker, ultimately to lose their chief merit, the picturesque quality. His method of cutting became cruder and colder and generally less perfect. We no longer find the beautiful contrasts in black and white which gave so much distinction to his pictures.

We might be inclined to doubt sometimes whether these later woodcuts are indeed done by the master's hand, yet we still find in them his distinct peculiarities, as for instance the drawing of the eyes, the treatment of the shade lines, so that it is hardly possible to assign them to any other master.

In 1488 Claes Leeu (a brother of Gerard) printed a *Historia Septem Sapientium Romae* (C. A. 954) in Antwerp, which book has also been illustrated by the same master. These woodcuts (Pl. 49) though still of high quality as far as composition is concerned, are much harder and they suggest the idea of their being finished by a pupil or of their being copies from lost originals.

For some years no work by this artist appeared, at any rate not to our knowledge, but in *Kamitus, Regimen contra pestem* (C. A. 1065) printed in 1491 by G. Leeu, we find a very good woodcut of St. Antony (The Hermit) in a landscape (Pl. 50). Somehow this picture reminds us vaguely of the atmosphere of the painting by Geertgen, representing the lonely John the Baptist, lost in deep meditation (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin).

The style of the cut suggests its production earlier than 1491, and it may safely be assumed that it was used before that year.

In the following year (1492) he decorated the book entitled *Dochteren van Syon* (C. A. 603), published by G. Leeu, with seven prints

which again are executed in a rigid style although the drawing is generally good (Pl. 52). A little inferior in design but more carefully executed are the nine prints which illustrate the *Seven Weeden* (C. A. 1778) published in the same year. Although of considerably less artistic value than his former prints, these little pictures have nevertheless a peculiar charm (Pl. 50). In 1492 he finally supplied a very good title page for Leeu's *Cronycles of the Londe of Englund* (Pl. 51). The large black letters over the coat of arms of England, held by two angels, are magnificent. This was the last book which Leeu printed; he died before he had finished it.

From this year the Haarlem artist is on the wane; however up to 1496 some 8^{vo} and 16^{mo} woodcuts still appear in Antwerp books printed by van Liesveldt and Back, which emanated from him or from his school, but they are not very important.

The Haarlem artist is the great master of the Netherland woodcutters of the 15th century, who created an original style, although his descent from the miniature-painters is obvious. Though his ideal as well as that of his countrymen is not the usual ideal of the woodcutter, yet his colour instinct infused a fresh element into this art which inaugurated a new style of woodcutting. His effects in black and white by which colour seems to supersede line, are not surpassed either by the Germans of the 16th century, nor indeed by any modern artists.

So much for the Haarlem woodcutter, whose name or personality has not been preserved by any tradition; still his influence, as we shall point out, put a strong mark upon the work of his countrymen. On the basis of the facts mentioned above we are inclined to suppose the pictures of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, which must have been produced about 1470, and probably also the miniatures of the Noordwyk Bible, completed in 1474, to have been made by him, which would enable us to trace his activity for about twenty-five years. This activity reached its summit in the beautiful illustrations of some of the Bellaert books. He was the great woodcutter of the 15th century in the Netherlands and, as we shall see, his style was in a way the pattern to Jacob Cornelis; he was probably the teacher of this artist, who together with Lucas van Leyden brought the art of woodcutting to the greatest perfection which it has ever attained in the Netherlands*.

* His influence on other countries will be treated in Chapter IX.

The energetic Gerard Leeu, who in the Netherlands was certainly the greatest printer in his day, used many other woodcuts besides the above mentioned pictures of the Haarlem artist. He had at least one more woodcutter in his service who worked for him exclusively. The latter however was a very mediocre craftsman who chiefly copied the pictures of others, making his woodcuts mostly inaccurately and carelessly.

His illustrations are not particularly pleasing; his talent was rather indifferent and he did not develop this art any further. His technique is very similar to that of the Delft woodcutter, of whom we shall speak later on and from whose work he borrowed a good deal. His activity lies between 1485 and 1491.

This Delft artist once worked for Gerard Leeu at Antwerp; and consequently it is probable that the Antwerp craftsman took his woodcuts as his patterns. Conway is mistaken in supposing the Delft artist, whose art is beyond his appreciation, to have copied the Antwerp woodcutter. A superficial glance at the work of the two will suffice to convince us of this error. The work of the latter is always dull and shows all the features of bad copies; space and gestures he produced indifferently, whereas the figures of the Delft artist on the contrary, though they are often extremely carelessly done, are always full of expression and each picture shows his intention clearly and with precision.

The Antwerp woodcutter began with a series of 16^{mo} woodcuts in *Jordani Meditationes*, G. Leeu 1485 (C.A. 1046), but he did not display his powers completely before the *Ludolphus* of 1487 (C. A. 1181) which contains 24 folio woodcuts by his hand, which enable one to judge fully of his work. He is a bad draughtsman without the least sense for perspective; his groups are clumsy in composition and they stick as it were to the background (Pl. 53-54). The least unsuccessful is the representation of the Death of the Virgin, although this composition is by no means original. His other woodcuts (in C. A. 1181, 1183, 1184 and 1185), do not deserve any special attention, yet we are not justified in ignoring his work when reviewing the woodcutters of the 15th century, on account of the enormous amount of work he produced, and because his woodcuts appeared for several decades in the *Ludolphus* editions in Antwerp and Zwolle, (published by P. van Os from 1490 onwards).

We have already hinted at the extraordinary energy and extensive printing production of Gerard Leeu. This printer published in Gouda 14 illustrated works and 75 editions in Antwerp, which he accomplished within 13 years; the non-illustrated books are not included in this enumeration.

Evidently the woodcuts which were made by Netherland artists were not sufficient for his requirements, seeing he also used many foreign pictures. He published in 1485 and 1486 *Die Fabulen van Aesopus* (C.A. 26 and 28), which he adorned with German woodcuts taken from Anton Sorg's edition in Augsburg.

From 1491 onwards he also used French woodcuts (in C.A. 278, 839, 1258, 994 and 479) which came later into the possession of van Liesveldt in Antwerp, who printed them repeatedly until 1500 *.

Many of the woodcuts which we have learned to know through Leeu are found later again from 1490 onwards in the books of Pieter van Os at Zwolle. A great number of them were used after Leeu's death by his successors far into the 16th century (van Liesveldt, van Bergen, Back and Claes de Grave).

* French woodcuts also appeared in Gouda at the "Collacie² Broeders" in *Getyden van O. L. Vrouwe* in 1496 (C.A. 840).

CHAPTER VI

DELFT

In 1482 Jac. Van der Meer at Delft published the *Boeck van de Geboden Gods* (C.A. 802.) In this book there are three woodcuts which give the impression of having been executed by an amateur. They reveal the awkwardness of a child's drawing; the attempt however at producing serious work is obvious (Pl. 54 A and B). These are the first dated woodcuts whose origin can be located at Delft, and they seem to have been a mere experiment by the very enterprising printer. In the following year he secured the co-operation of an excellent artist. Whereas the Haarlem woodcuts have brought us into touch with the miniatures, we here find a direct link with the Dutch paintings of the period. The so-called Master of the Virgo inter Virgines makes an appearance in the Delft incunabula* and reveals himself here as an important woodcutter with a style and character of his own. In these prints we find the same types with their oval heads — often too large — with which we are familiar from his paintings. Sometimes we also come across compositions which are closely related, for instance we can compare the woodcut of the Murder of the Innocents (Pl. 57 A) with the same scene by this Master on one of the side wings of the large Salzburg triptych (App. K). (Attention should be paid to the attitude of the murderer in the foreground.)

His prints are indeed distinguished by a marked individuality as compared with the woodcuts of the contemporary artists. He has an infinite repertoire and he has no hesitation in delineating the same subject in different ways. He is a pleasant and lively teller of tales with a keen eye for details, and shows a vivid interest in the smallest incidents. In these cuts we find the same hasty, nervous touch, the same restlessness which we feel in his paintings, and especially in this respect we get to know him as a character totally different from the Haarlem man with his ingenuous style and quiet method of description. It is remarkable that such an artist does not scruple to copy other woodcuts, a proceeding usually ill-attended by success; but most of the artists of the 15th century apparently did not feel any hesitation in copying, nor did they seem to regard it as plagiarism. The expression in his figures is striking, and he tells us briefly and concisely

* Compare the article by Friedlaender in *Preuss. Jahrbuch* 1910.

what he wishes to illustrate. On the other hand the craftsmanship, so careful in his earlier woodcuts, soon becomes careless and very often they seem to have been done in haste. This is evidently a matter of secondary importance in his eyes and many of his prints look rather amateurish. At the outset of his career he did not fully realize the picturesque effects which the art of woodcutting can produce, but later on he proves by his fine black and white prints to have thoroughly grasped it. We can easily recognise his style by special characteristics. For instance he is fond of drawing peering goggle-eyes with big black pupils; the hair is always untidy and straggling, his hatching mostly consists of rows of parallel lines, all of equal length, whereas later on he used comb-like shadings.

We are able to follow the gradual development of his art better than in the case of his colleagues, as his complete work is preserved in the Delft incunabula. The period of his activity dates from 1483 to 1498.

In January 1483 Van der Meer published the *Historie van de seven wise Mannen* (C.A. 953) and in February of the same year *Dat Scaecspul* (C.A. 421); in these books the first illustrations by his hand are to be found. The earliest are copies of the same originals as the prints in the *Seven wise Mannen* published by G. van Os at Gouda in 1482, but they are much better than these and the work is done very carefully (Pl. 55). The figures are drawn freely and loosely, the gestures are quite natural; the old king shines in solemn dignity. The set of 13 woodcuts with which he adorned *Het Scaecspul* (Pl. 56), a month later is very interesting; in this book the text describes precisely and elaborately how the persons are to be drawn and the woodcutter has adhered to these directions scrupulously; the drawing of his prints is good and terse, their composition is clever and mostly very decorative and they show great originality. The "Rook" on his rearing horse fits neatly into its frame. These simple figures against a white background without the addition of a landscape really show the general character of woodcuts better than the prints of the Haarlem master, which rather resemble miniatures. This however can only be said of his early work, and the Delft master soon came under the dominating influence of the Haarlem artist and his style became more picturesque.

In 1486 the *Epistelen en Evangelien* (C.A. 696) was printed by Van der Meer. It is richly illustrated with 24 quarto woodcuts (which reappear later in the *Ludolphus*) (Pl. 57); his style is here much more developed, freer and broader and in the main the same carefulness is still evident. It is characteristic of this woodcutter that he does not seem to care much for landscapes, and even seems to avoid them, whenever he can; his forte is not (as it is with the Haarlem master) the composing of decorative groups either within a landscape or within a room. There is very little space around his figures, they are mostly too closely packed together, but he excels in the vigorous expression which he succeeded in putting in every face and gesture (compare f. i. Pl. 58 and 61). His lines are generally bold and firm, though often drawn somewhat hastily, especially in his later work, and some of his prints show beautiful effects of black and white.

In 1487 a few woodcuts by this master suddenly appeared in the *Ludolphus* issued by G. Leeu at Antwerp in that year. This proves that he also worked for this printer, for these cuts do not appear in any Delft book (later they are found in the books of P. van Os at Zwolle). They are the illustrations of Christ with his Disciples in the cornfield and of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, both excellent specimens of his art (Pl. 60).

In 1487 Van der Meer also published *Ons Heeren Passie* (C.A. 1160) and the *Passionael* (*Somer en Winterstuck*) (C.A. 1763); both of these volumes were richly adorned with woodcuts by this master (Pl. 58, 59 and 63 B).

The Entombment (Pl. 58 B) in the first book is especially striking as an example of his art and style because of the relation it bears to his paintings; the woodcut is rather carelessly finished but there is much life in the figures. For the *Passionael* he made as many as 88 woodcuts, and though several of them are done rather sketchily, the majority among them are excellent illustrations, for instance St. John in the Oil, with the stokers busily plying their iron hooks, the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, where the executioner is turning the handle with a will, and the very decorative St. George with the Dragon against a background which is admirably ornamented.

In 1488 he entered the service of Chr. Snellaert, who took the place of Jac. Van der Meer at Delft, and in this year he supplied 75

woodcuts for the *Ludolphus* (C.A. 1182) (Pl. 60-63 A). These woodcuts must have been finished a year before, or else they appeared in an earlier edition of this book which has now been lost, because in 1487 we find them very coarsely copied by the Antwerp woodcutter who was in the service of Leeu, and who has been mentioned above. There are however some pictures which are copies from well-known prints by the Haarlem artist when he worked at Antwerp (e.g. the Last Supper and Christ appearing to Mary), so that it remains possible that they have all been copied from lost originals by this artist. There are in this set a number of woodcuts which are among the very best work by this unbalanced Delft artist. He shows himself for instance to be completely versed in the art of black and white illustration introduced into Holland by the Haarlem master, and his Beheading of St. John and Christ with Simon make beautiful and decorative prints (Pl. 60). Moreover we see his expressive power in the lively representation of the devils being cast out into the swine, and also in Christ before Pilate, in which the haughtiness of Pilate, the dignity of Christ and the hatred of his clamouring accusers are admirably portrayed. In these three woodcuts all the good and bad qualities of this artist are manifest. On the whole they are exceedingly decorative, moreover the figures are life-like and full of expression, the cutting however is rather careless and seems more or less amateurish (Pl. 61 and 62).

A beautiful ornament of the page is the device of Snellaert which appears in his edition of the *Twispraec der Creaturen* of 1488 (C.A. 568), for the production of which he borrowed the blocks from G. Leeu (Pl. 65). The *Seven Vroeden van Rome* (C.A. 955) of 1491 contain some very good prints in which he again copied the Haarlem woodcutter.

In the *Missale Trajectense*, printed by Christian Snellaert about 1495 (C.A. 1262) a Canon-plate appears and this is one of his finest woodcuts (Pl. 64). It is undoubtedly an early work (about 1485) and must have been used in a former edition which has not been preserved; it is a folio woodcut of Christ on the Cross, with Mary and St. John. This print (the only known copy is in the K. B. at the Hague) is coloured (though it is well done). The Christ in this print reminds one of his paintings, the painful expression of Mary and the rich folds of the garment of St. John are also characteristic of his style.

In 1492 and 1494 he copied French woodcuts, but this work is not very good. In the following years he probably produced no work of any importance, at least nothing has been handed down to us, but in 1498 he made a large set of prints of the *Aesopi Fabulae* (C.A. 29) for Eckert van Homberch at Delft. These were exact copies of the illustrations of the German edition by A. Sorg at Augsburg, used by G. Leeu in 1485 and 1486. Often however the figures are very expressive and on the whole they were made with care (Pl. 66 A).

Thus we come to the end of the artist's career and no further new work by him is to be found. He shows himself to be a strong, individual character, who claims his own place amongst Dutch woodcutters. He has a lively spirit and his prints are distinguished by a great *élan* of handling. His fault seems to be that he often worked too rapidly and carelessly, but still this gives the nervous touch to his woodcuts which is so fascinating. Sometimes one cannot help thinking that he worked too hard, that he undertook too much and that therefore he could not bestow sufficient care upon his work. Every lover of art however will appreciate his important and varied *œuvre* and his woodcuts are indeed as meritorious as his paintings.

CHAPTER VII

LEYDEN.

With the exception of a printer's device, used by Heynricus Heynrici at Leyden in 1484 — it represents a lion holding two shields, one showing the coat of arms of Leyden and the other the printer's mark — no woodcuts appeared in this town before 1494, when Hugo Jansz, van Woerden settled there as a printer. This seems strange, especially in a town where — we only have to think of Cornelis Engelbrechtsen and Hugo Jacobsz. — painting was already in full blossom. The fault must be due more to the printers than to the artists, as the printer's craft was insignificantly represented here and they did not publish any large costly works. Till some time in the 16th century the only known works from the Leyden press are small prayer-books in 8^{vo}.

The unassuming artist who began working for Hugo Jansz. van Woerden in 1494, seems at first to be entirely under the influence of Haarlem; he simply copied prints of this school (for instance in C. A. 1122, 1119; see Pl. 69). But it soon became evident that the small French woodcuts and the copies of those used after 1491 by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp greatly influenced this craftsman. He knew however how to maintain a certain independence, and he adopted in fact only the good qualities of the French prints. The technical part of his work was done with care, outlines and all details such as eyes, hair and hands are cut most carefully. He was able moreover to give a certain expression to his figures and his small 8vo woodcuts give the prayer-books in which they were published an attractive appearance. At first sight his illustrations indeed are reminiscent of French work (Pl. 66-69).

This woodcutter also worked as a miniaturist. Recently in an antiquarian bookshop* there was a Dutch manuscript (*Passionale*) containing 48 miniatures which are evidently by his hand. It is mediocre work although the figures nearly all have some expressive value. Here we meet with some characteristics which we find in the woodcuts by this master. We also observe the manner in which the smoothly combed hair is done, the long fingers on the frequently rather fat hands, and the stiff angular feet. Moreover he displays similar shade hatching : we may compare the Baptism of Christ in the woodcut and in the miniature with (note the position of the arms) the Ecce

* Leo Olschki at Florence.

Homo (Pl. 66, 67 and App. L). The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Pl. 68) is quite in conformity, even in the smallest details, with the miniature of the same scene. In order however to see the close connection of the artist with the Haarlem woodcutter we have to compare the miniature where God forbids Adam and Eve to eat of the fruit of the fatal tree with that of the creation of Adam and Eve (Pl. 26 A and App. M)*.

He worked up till the early part of the 16th century upon woodcuts published in books printed at Leyden, and he produced occasionally, especially in his later period (after 1500) some very good work. Most of his woodcuts are to be found in C. A. 395, 1111, 1122, 846 and in several post-incunabula of the Leyden press.

* See Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *La Miniature Hollandaise*, No. 161, pl. 217.

CHAPTER VIII

ZWOLLE AND DEVENTER

The first evidence of a woodcutter at Zwolle is to be found in the *Gesten der Romeynen*, published by Pieter van Os in 1484 (C. A. 828), and in this book two printer's devices appear showing the arms of the town and those of the printer. The artist is a man of indifferent qualities, whose work gives no indication whatever that art was flourishing to a remarkable extent at Zwolle at the end of the 15th century. He worked for Pieter van Os and from 1488 also for P. Barmentlo, the printer of Hasselt, a town quite close to Zwolle.

At the end of the same year (1484) van Os also published *S. Bernardus Sermonen* (C. A. 275), embellished with a folio woodcut by this artist. It represents the apparition of the Blessed Virgin and the Child to St. Bernard — a subject which occurs frequently at this time. Though the cutting is still poor, the print as a whole gives an ornamental and agreeable effect (Pl. 70). The outlines seem to be cut with difficulty and no line is traced firmly. From this the inexperience and lack of skill on the part of the woodcutter becomes evident and it seems to be a typical example of early work. The bulging eyelids, the carelessly drawn fingers, usually much too long, are characteristic of this artist.

His workmanship improves in his later woodcuts which are mostly copies. He borrowed much from the Gouda and Utrecht woodcutters and he also copied the prints of the *Ars Moriendi* for an edition of the *Sterfboec* of 1488 (C. A. 1620).

A specimen of his later work is to be found in the *Vaderboeck* published by van Os in 1490 (C. A. 938), and illustrated by him with a folio woodcut representing the Annunciation (Pl. 70). The print is rather weak and the figures lack all expressive quality. Strange to say, in this work we again see that his craftsmanship has been influenced to a very great extent by the work of the Haarlem artist (special attention should be paid to the many short shade lines and dots). It is quite possible that an unknown original by this artist served him as a pattern. In *Clargie om wel te leven*, printed about 1488 by P. Barmentlo at Hasselt (C. A. 446) we discover some other good copies of prints which were published in 1482 in *Vier Uterste* by G. Leeu at Gouda (C. A. 1316) (See Pl. 71 C). In fact the Zwolle artist hardly pro-

duced anything but copies and we cannot regret the fact that he disappeared in 1493.

No connection of this woodcutters work can be established with the engravings of the contemporary master, who signed "Zwott" which some scholars consider to be an abbreviation of Zwolle.

Leyden, where artistic life flourished considerably at the end of the 15th century, lacked, as we have seen, great enterprising printers. At Zwolle however the reverse is true; here Pieter van Os had one of the largest presses of the Netherlands. Between 1484 and 1500 he published as many as 39 illustrated books, not to mention the numerous editions he issued after 1500. The local artist, however, was by no means able to satisfy such demands, and we are not surprised to see van Os obtaining his woodcuts from many other places. Thus he used the cut-up blocks of blockbooks (*Biblia Pauperum* and *Canticum Canticorum*) also cuts of the Haarlem, Gouda, Delft and Antwerp woodcutters which he obtained from Bellaert, Snellaert and G. Leeu.

We have seen (note page 8, Chapter Blockbooks) that just this habit of van Os to use woodcuts from all parts of Holland makes the assumption that blockbooks originated from Zwolle because the cut-up blocks appeared in his books, untenable.

BRUGES, GHENT AND LOUVAIN

We have already had occasion to point out that the art of wood-cutting in the Southern Netherlands did not flourish in the early printed books. This is probably an indication that blockbooks are not to be looked for in that part of the country, for then they would have formed a tradition as they did in the north. One reason of course is that the art of printing was much less practised there, which in turn is probably due to the long duration of the success of illuminated manuscripts there, consequent upon greater wealth.

Of the really magnificent books issued by Colard Mansion at Bruges between 1476 and 1484 only the last one was adorned with woodcuts. It is an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (C. A. 1348) and contains no less than 39 illustrations (Pl. 72). The woodcuts are rather coarse in workmanship, the hand which made them lacked practice, but the prints are nevertheless original and show some variety of treatment. A close comparison shows that they bear a striking resemblance to the prints of the Master of the Bocaccio illustrations, an engraver who worked about 1476 at Bruges *, and there seems to be no doubt that these woodcuts have been made by the same artist. It is really a pity that Mansion, a printer of great quality, did not succeed in finding a better artist to illustrate his books, which are masterpieces of the early art of printing. How splendid his folios with their rich French letters and wide margins would be if, for instance, they were illustrated by prints of the Haarlem artist, who had the wonderful ability to harmonise his woodcuts with the shape of the printed text and the size of the page.

At Ghent this art offers an even poorer spectacle. Except for a printer's device (C. A. 919) the only remaining samples are a few fragments of an 8^{vo} prayerbook printed by Arend de Keyser in that town between 1485 and 1490 (C. A. Suppl. II. 985a). The work is produced under the direct influence of French woodcuts (or engravings) made in the style of the miniatures with borders (Pl. 71). These borders form the best and most carefully finished portion of the prints, the woodcuts themselves are most insignificant.

* See Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog der deutschen, französischen und niederländischen Kupferstiche im XV en Jahrh.* T. IV. Wien 1908.

The first illustrations in Netherlandish incunabula are to be found in Louvain books in 1475. They are however very modest productions : small vignettes in which the portraits of the printers John and Conrad de Westfalia appear and also a series of nine small unimportant woodcuts in the first *Fasciculus Temporum* issued by Jan Veldener in that town in 1475 (C. A. 1478). They give the impression of being the timid efforts of a beginner and do not suggest an established school or tradition in any way whatsoever, neither do they lead to better results, on the contrary they stop there and they are of no importance in the history of Dutch and Flemish woodcuts*. Veldener left Louvain in 1478 and settled at Utrecht (afterwards at Kuilenburg) where he found a better illustrator.

It is not until 1488 that we find an artist at Louvain who has at least a style of his own and who deserves mention. When P. de Rivo's *Opus responsivum* (C. A. 1405) was published by L. de Ravescot, we find in it some folio woodcuts which suggest the hand of a master (Pl. 73). For instance there is an original representation of the Crucifixion, though the workmanship is still very stiff and clumsy. A further development of this artist is to be seen in some woodcuts in *Visio lamentabilis* of about 1488 (C. A. 1745), which give a remarkably cubistic effect (Pl. 74 D).

In the books of Eg. van den Heerstraten at Louvain we also find a woodcutter whose activity is to be traced in *Bocaccio, de Claris Mulieribus* of 1487 (C. A. 294). These woodcuts are accurate and very careful copies of the illustrations in the edition of the same work issued in 1473 by Hainer in Ulm (Hain 3334)*. Work by this artist is also to be found in some Louvain books of those years and in *Legenda Heynrici et Kunegondis* (C. A. 1100), printed by the Fratres Communis Vitae at Brussels.

* See the reproductions in Holtrop : *Monuments typographiques dans les Pays-Bas du XV^e siècle*.

CHAPTER X

JACOB CORNELIS

(GOUDA, SCHOONHOVEN, SCHIEDAM).

We have now come to a milestone in the history of the art of woodcutting in the Netherlands. We have seen that hitherto these artists were the offspring of the miniature painters, that they probably emanated from their group and that they remained very closely connected with them. Their style was picturesque and they set themselves the ideals of the miniaturists, but now the fruit of their labours, whose growth we have attempted to follow from the very beginning, has matured, and the artist who liberated the art of woodcutting from all traditions is Jacob Cornelis. In him it has outgrown its origin and has become wholly independent. He is a born woodcutter and surpasses every Dutchman in technical power. We are able to trace his activity from 1486 up to his death in 1533. Such a complete survey we possess of very few early artists. In order to recognise the style of Jacob Cornelis in the illustrations which we are about to discuss we have only to compare the series of woodcuts of the Life of the Blessed Virgin, signed and dated by him in 1507*, with the Lydwina prints of 1498. These prints in their turn are connected with the illustrations of the *Chevalier délibéré*, which are about ten years older, and which again bear a close relationship to the woodcuts of the *Historie Golevaert's van Boloen*, and it is in this book that his earliest work is to be found. We shall see that he supplied woodcuts to Govaert van Os at Gouda, to the *Collaciebroeders* of that town, to the *Regulieren*, in Den Hem, near Schoonhoven and to the unknown printer at Schiedam. His connection with the *Regulieren* of Den Hem are also evident from a colophone printed beneath a woodcut marked with his initials**, which reads : *Impresse Amstelredam per me fratrem Heynricum de Oudewater Canonicum Regularem extra Schoenhovia inde Hem, Anno 1512*.

He came from the great school of woodcutters at Haarlem where he probably learned his craft. The fact that he was born at Oostzanen near Haarlem adds to the probability of this assumption. The influence

* This series is to be found in the Printroom at Brussels and in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg. Two of the set are in the Printroom of the B. M.

** It is the title-page of a prayer-book (in a private Dutch collection).

of the Haarlem artist, discussed in the third Chapter, is evident especially in his earliest prints, the series of *Godevaert van Boloen*: the same types of persons, the same landscapes with castles and towns (cf. illustrations). Moreover he uses the same comb-like shading and hatching, his art however is quite different in sentiment. He lacks the poetic and flowery style of narration and the naive fancy of the Bellaert Master. On the other hand his work is bolder and stronger in design and full of realism. In the beginning he still sought picturesque effects, especially in contrasts of black and white (in the *Chevalier délibéré*) and he produced some very decorative prints, but gradually he drops the picturesque element and turns his mind exclusively to the real art of woodcutting, in which he obtains a masculine breadth of treatment. In workmanship he excelled all his countrymen of the 15th century and he displayed a skill which places his work among the very best of its kind which has ever been produced. Moreover he is an excellent draughtsman; no master in the North of that early period understood perspective as he did (see for instance the *Lydwina* prints). The sense of distance and the plastic power which his woodcuts show so strongly characterise him as a born Renaissance artist. We have to consider him as the immediate forerunner of Lucas van Leyden. Although he was greatly influenced by German art during the later portion of his life, the early work of Jacob Cornelis, however, and especially the *Lydwina* prints is purely Dutch, a genuine product of his native country, and at least in this early period he did not study foreign prints but remained fresh and individual.

About 1486 Gotfried van Os (or Govaert van Ghemen) published the *Historie Godevaerts van Boloen* (C. A. 958) in Gouda and this book was richly illustrated with 22 prints (Pl. 74). Here we see the first known work of Jacob Cornelis. Most of these woodcuts are still rather hard and the hand which produced them seems unpractised, but the boldness of the composition as well as the originality of the representation show signs of great promise. The relation with the Haarlem school is close, especially as far as technique is concerned. For instance he imitates the comb-like and dot shadings which are very common there. We find other work of the same period in the *Historie van Lancelot ende Sandryn* (C. A. 974) and in *Opusculum Grammaticale* (C. A. 1331), both published at this time by the same printer. These woodcuts however are still rather stiff.

The elaborate and very rich illustrations of the *Chevalier délibéré* display great progress. This work, justly famous, was published about 1488 by Gotfried van Os at Gouda, and was probably printed by order of the author Olivier de la Marche, the favourite of Charles the Bold, and later « Premier Maître d'Hôtel » of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy.

The author gave ample indication in his text concerning the illustrations, their contents and their colours*.

The fact that this book was ordered in Gouda gives a remarkable proof that the Dutch art of book-printing was very highly valued even in Burgundy, which in those days was one of the greatest centres of art-lovers in Northern Europe.

The excellent series of woodcuts (Pl. 76) which enrich this book are among the monuments of woodcutting; they often combine a highly decorative effect with the most minute execution. They are original in every respect, the figures are traced broadly and decoratively, and the ensemble bears witness to great and even fantastic imagination. For all that they undeniably show the signs of early work, for the hand of the artist is as yet unskilled in drawing technique. For instance, the proper distance between his figures is often wanting and in general his prints reveal a lack of sufficient space. The drawing, however, is vigorous, gestures and expression are always correct. The style of his cutting is fully developed here: he makes thick outlines, his noses and lips in profile are always sharp and angular, the eyes are finished showing the eyebrows and eyelashes; the rather large black pupils are nearly always in the corners of the eyes, and we never see the gaze directed towards the spectator; the nervously gesticulating hands tremble with life. The vertical shade hatchings even in the faces, which he used occasionally to excess, so that the inner drawing became too crowded, are very typical of him.

From his early period, probably before the above mentioned *Chevalier* illustrations, a number of octavo woodcuts are to be dated, which have been preserved for the greater part only in post-incunabula. It seems very likely that they were used to embellish small prayer-books now lost. Thus we find an Annunciation in *Leven ons lief Heeren*

* See the facsimile edition of the *Chevalier délibéré* by Lippmann, London, Bibliographical Society 1898.

Schoonhoven, Den Hem, 1499 (C. A. 1113), whose style is directly connected with the prints of Godevaert van Boloen. Moreover, a print of the Vigils in *Devote Materien, Schoonhoven*, 1503, and an Infant Saviour in *die Maniere van de bekeringhe der Menschen, Schoonhoven*, 1503.

A little later we find a series of sixteen 8^{vo} and seven 16^{mo} cuts which appear in a number of prayer-books printed by the Regulars at *Den Hem* between 1496 and 1500. These woodcuts were, however, probably cut a few years earlier (C. A. 1327, 1113 & 601).

In the *Cronike van Holland en Zeeland* printed in 1517 by J. Seversz. at Leyden, we find a number of woodcuts by Jacob Cornelis. Their style affords sufficient evidence that they were produced about the same time as the *Chevalier* prints.

His art, however, only reached full maturity in the magnificent illustrations of the life of Lydwina (in *Vita Lydwina de Schiedam, Schiedam* 1498, C. A. 383, Pl. 78-80). They are full of tender devotion and they tell the story of her unhappy life, her troubles and illness, her death and burial, and of the eternal reward which awaited her. They are quite free from all conventionality and exceptionally fresh and lively. The artist sketches pleasant interiors as well as open air life; his landscapes are excellent in their perspective, especially the ice-scene, in which a perfect winter scene is suggested with only a few lines. It shows an expanse of ice, where people are skating and hurrying to the spot where Lydwina has fallen. We feel ourselves here in the presence of a Dutch winter, just as we feel the same sensation in the presence of the masterpieces of the 17th century painters.

His groups are always well formed and his sketches of people talking are very life-like, their gestures are free and natural. These prints fascinate us continually by their simple realism and they show Jacob Cornelis to be a genuine artist, whose art has developed in his native country. In these prints we have to observe first of all the advanced stage of the drawing, considering so early a period. In this respect Jacob Cornelis is not equalled by any artists, whether Dutch or Flemish. He displays a highly developed sense for perspective and space, his figures stand and move in the ample landscape which is no longer a mere accessory. People are drawn in the right proportion to trees and houses, which he does not hesitate to cut into halves for purposes of

his composition. We used to observe these symptoms of the approaching Renaissance in the work of Gerard David in the beginning of the 16th century, but here we find them towards the close of the 15th century in the cuts of Jacob Cornelis. When considering this we must not lose sight of the fact that Gerard David was born at Oudewater, and his work shows the influence of the Haarlem school to a considerable extent. In view of the fact that he was in no respect a forerunner or guide, but rather the typical descendant and often the struggling imitator of the old Bruges school, the inference would not seem to be unwarranted that he owed some of his new ideas to his immediate contact with Jacob Cornelis in Holland.

The style of many 8^{vo} woodcuts in *Oefeninghe van den Passie*, *Spiegel der kersten Menschen* and in *Historie von Joseph* (printed in 1500 at Gouda, Pl. 77 and 78) and of some 16^{mo} cuts in *Leven ons Heeren* and in Gerson's *Suverlic Boexken* etc. printed 1497-1509 at Schoonhoven in Den Hem, is immediately related to that of the Lydwina prints (Pl. 74). After 1500 we find in several post-incunabula as well as in single woodcuts many other very important works of Jacob Cornelis; this, however, is beyond the scope of this essay.

RELATION TO OTHER COUNTRIES

The woodcuts of Holland had their influence upon other countries to a similar effect as its paintings. Nor is this a matter for surprise seeing how strong and personal the character of these woodcuts is. They are representative of an art which had sprung up from the native soil and had grown there to a rich maturity. In Germany book-illustrations did not reach nearly so high a level at that time, the great development manifesting itself there only during the 16th century.

The best German woodcut work of the 15th century, the Lübeck Bible of 1494, was produced directly under Dutch influence. We have seen already how popular the Dutch blockbooks were in Germany and how eagerly they were copied. We indeed know German copies of the *Exercitium super Pater Noster**, the *Ars Moriendi*, the *Apocalypse* and the *Biblia Pauperum* which enable us to compare them with the infinitely superior Dutch editions. We now propose to point out some single cases in which Dutch incunabula-woodcuts have exercised a direct influence upon foreign countries.

An unknown printer at Lübeck published about 1489 *Meister Stephan's Schachbuch*, and for illustrations he used copies of the woodcuts which had appeared in *Dat Scaecspul* (C.A. 421, see above, page 39) published in 1483 by Jacobus van der Meer at Delft. This is evidence of the earliest Dutch influence which—as regards woodcuts—can be established at Lübeck. In the same year there appeared *Der Todes Tanz*, the pictures of which are also related to the Delft woodcuts from the *Historie der seven wise mannen***.

The illustrations of the Bible published by Stephan Arndes at Lübeck in 1494 show such close connection with the early woodcuts by Jacob Cornelis (see above) that one is tempted to believe that they are by the same hand. The workmanship here however is different; the pictures are much fuller and lack boldness of design because too much shading is used. The sobriety and wise restraint in which for

* A single leaf is preserved in Kremsmünster, see P. Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten*, Berlin 1911, S. 37.

** Delft, van der Meer, 1483 (C.A. 953). See the facsimile edition of *Der Todes Tanz*, by M. J. Friedlaender, *Graphische Gesellschaft Berlin* 1910, and compare the picture of the "Keyserinne" with that of the Empress who is defending herself before the Emperor in the Delft book.

instance the Lydwina woodcuts excel is absent. It is, however, quite probable that Jacob Cornelis made the drawings for them.

Woodcuts by the hand of the same illustrator are also to be found in some other Lübeck books.

In 1490 J. Koelhof of Cologne published a *Historia septem Sapientium* and borrowed for it from C. Leeu at Antwerp the woodcuts used by this printer for his edition of the same book in 1488. Koelhof sent them back to Antwerp after using them, which we may infer from the fact that Leeu printed them again in his second edition in 1491. The Cologne printer also had some pictures copied from the *Fasciculus Temporum* (C.A. 1479) which are by the hand of the Utrecht woodcutter, and he used them for his edition of the *Kölner Chronik* in 1499 (Hain 4989).

The picture of the Master who is teaching three pupils (C.A. 1331, H.M.T. 72 III) which appeared first in 1486 in Gouda and is one of the earliest works by Jacob Cornelis, is to be found copied in Franciscus Niger's *Modus Epistolandi* (Speyer, Conrad Hist 1489, Hain 11877). Many additional examples of this might easily be found.

The *Dialogus Creaturarum* with its charming illustrations was obviously very popular; apart from nine editions of the book published in the Netherlands between 1486 and 1491, the work was also published with copies after the Gouda woodcuts by Johann Snell in Stockholm in 1483 (Proctor 9828 A; British Museum, I.A. 56203)*.

It is easy to understand that Sweden was influenced by a print from Gouda when we take into consideration that there was a convent of the Brigitten order at Gouda, which order was founded in Sweden and had its chief convent there (Wadstena). Thus relations might have existed between the Dutch and Swedish monasteries.

Quentell of Cologne also copied the whole series of pictures for his *Dialogus* edition published about 1500**.

In France, where the art of woodcutting was subject to Italian influence and where it did not grow to any considerable prosperity before the 16th century, only a few points of contact with Dutch works are to be

* Vide Collyn, *Catalogue of the incunabula of the Royal Library in Stockholm*. Band I, Heft 1, Stockholm 1916.

** See Holtrop. *Catal. librorum sec. XV imp. quotquot in Bibl. Regia Hagana asseruntur*, 1856, 11, no. 315. See also Vouillième, *Kölner Bücher*, S. 20, 845.

found. It is curious that Bellaert printed so many works by French authors (Deguileville, Pierre Michault, Le Fèvre). One might have supposed that he used French books as models; this assumption however is not based upon any instance in the woodcuts, which show no relation whatever to France. The inferior illustrations of the French books could not have served as models for the beautiful Bellaert prints.

In 1485 Pierre Pincerne dit Bouteiller printed *L'Art de bien mourir* and he adorned this book with excellent copies from the Dutch *Ars Moriendi* (see Claudin, T. III, p. 210 and T. IV, p. 437). Friedlaender has moreover correctly traced the Dutch influence in the illustrations of *Tarentius Comœdia* which was published by Johannes Drechsel in Lyons in 1493*.

In Italy, where in the 15th century, especially in Venice and Florence, the art of woodcutting flourished exceedingly, there is no direct influence emanating from the Netherlands. It is curious how in that country the book-illustrations reveal an absolutely Italian character from the beginning, considering that the first printers were all German. The printers tried here to rival the magnificence of the illuminated manuscripts and the art of woodcutting attained a high level of individuality. These remarkable and splendid Italian woodcuts with their infinitely fine lines are drawn with almost incredible assurance.

Dutch influence might with some probability be discovered in the black and white prints which were so popular in the Florentine woodcuts especially from 1490 onwards. This natural resource of the woodcutter by which such decorative effects are obtained, had been exploited very frequently (and certainly first) in the Haarlem and Delft woodcuts of the eighties. At the same time the *Ars Moriendi* was undoubtedly known in Italy, for we find an Italian manuscript in the Perrins Library, dating from the end of the 15th century, bearing the title *L'arte de lo ben morire* and containing miniatures which are exact copies of the Dutch blockbook. The Italian text is a translation of the Latin blockbook text**.

* M. J. Friedlaender *Der Holzschnitt*, page 206, in the series *Handbücher der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, second edition, Berlin, 1921.

** They are mediocre and characteristic copies. It is out of the question that the Dutch blockbook is a copy of the miniatures. See Georges Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of illuminated MSS. in the Library of Perrins, Oxford 1920*. Plate XXV. No. 79.

The development of the art of woodcutting in England in the 15th century is hardly worth mentioning. The cuts used by Caxton are rather poor; Wynkyn de Worde (first at Westminster, afterwards in London) devoted his attention to Dutch book-decoration. About 1495 he published at Westminster an edition of *Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De Proprietatibus Rerum* (Hain 2520, Proctor 9725) and for this book he had copies made of the set of woodcuts in the Bellaert edition of this work (C. A. 258). They are copied in exactly the same size (folio) but very coarsely finished. The same craftsman copied for this publisher the print of Marcolphus (used in 1492 by G. Leeu at Antwerp) for his *Howleglas* published about 1528 in London. Besides he bought blocks in Holland: in his *Expositio Hymnorum*, published in 1499 at Westminster, he printed the woodcut of the Master with the three pupils (H. M. T. 72, III) used by G. Van Os at Gouda in 1486 (C. A. 1331).

Thus we see the Dutch woodcuts of the 15th century occupying an important place in the artistic life of that time; their fame was widely spread far beyond the frontiers of the small country. In the glorious history of art of the Low Countries they deserve a chapter of their own; for this art, though standing on a more modest level, had a strong character and intense life, and exerted its influence over all Europe. In their sphere they truly uphold the fame of Holland's art.

THE WOODCUT IN RELATION TO PAINTING

In this connection our thoughts naturally go first to the Haarlem woodcuts whose pre-eminently picturesque character has been pointed out in particular, and whose close connection with the miniatures has been demonstrated.

The knowledge of the Dutch miniatures of the 15th century is not sufficiently pronounced to allow us to speak with absolute certainty of definite schools, much less of individual masters.

As far as painting properly speaking in Haarlem is concerned the name of Geertgen tot Sint Jans immediately jumps to the mind in connection with this period, and without a doubt a certain relation to his work exists here. We must imagine the woodcutter-miniaturist in question as coming directly from the Bouts-Ouwater school at Haarlem.

A close relationship with the style of that school is to be noticed in the miniatures of the above mentioned Dutch Bible of 1474, and in the woodcuts of *Der Sonderen Troest*. The same applies more or less to the woodcuts of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the *Biblia Pauperum*. We must point out especially the further connection with two paintings of the so-called Sybilla Master (of Haarlem), viz. "The Emperor Augustus with the Sybilla of Tibur" (in Frankfort Städelsches Institut) and "The Betrothal of the Holy Virgin" in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia (Johnson Catalogue No. 344) in which the figures show a strong likeness to the Haarlem woodcuts; the architecture in the background of the "St. Martin" (Johnson Catalogue No. 346) in the same collection is closely related to the style of the buildings, castles and towers we usually find in the Bellaert prints. These paintings in which the influence of Bouts and the style of Geertgen are distinctly noticeable, were undoubtedly produced in Haarlem and they must have been created at the same time as the woodcuts in question.

Besides the influence of Bouts that of Geertgen is noticeable in the Bellaert cuts and it grows stronger continuously. In 1485 we recognise it distinctly for the first time in the drawing of the landscapes, for instance in that of the "Judgment of Paris" (Pl. 23 A) in which a little

brook is shown in the foreground. There is much in common with that of the "Sleeping Pilgrim" and that of the title plate of *Doctrinael des Tyts* (Both belonging to the year 1486 compare Pl. 22 A and 16 A). The exuberance and gracefulness of Geertgen's hilly landscapes, mostly crowded with all kinds of animals, are common to all three, and therefore it is very probable that his "St. John in Solitude" with its exuberant landscape was painted already in 1485. It is not likely that the great painter was influenced by these woodcuts, the contrary is far more probable.

Relationship to Geertgen's human figures can also be traced, for instance the horsemen in different woodcuts, the youths engaged in athletic games and the spectators in "Hercules at the games" (Pl. 23 B) and many others can be compared with the figures which fill his landscapes, especially those of the "Adoration of the Magi" in Prague and Amsterdam. Geertgen's activity may consequently be dated a little earlier than has been considered up to now, viz., about 1480-1490.

The argument for giving a somewhat later date is based mostly upon details in the garments, for instance the round shoes which are common in his paintings, but these details are to be found much earlier than is generally believed; we can see them repeatedly in the works of Israël van Meckenem and further in numerous woodcuts, for instance in picture No 17 (Meeting of Peleus and Jason) which date from the year 1484; in the "Judgment of Paris" these shoes are worn by the "Most Beautiful One", who receives the apple. They are also found in pictures in the Godevaert van Boloen, by Jacob Cornelis, and in many others. From the years 1487 onwards, when our woodcut artist had gone to Antwerp, the influence of Geertgen really diminished.

Another painter whose hand is still more recognisable in the woodcuts is the Master of the *Virgo inter Virgines**. And it is in fact most probable that he is identical with the Delft woodcutter. In this work his two characteristic qualities, nervousness and unsteadiness, are to be noticed. The fact that his woodcuts are often copies of other prints indicates that the process of cutting was only a secondary hobby with him and that painting was his chief preoccupation. The large egg-shaped heads, the frequently excited and cruel facial expression and exoteric head-dress generally embellished with jewels are characteristic

* See Friedlaender's article in *Jarhb. d. kön. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen* 1910.

of him. The figure of Christ in the "Entombment" (Pl. 58 B) is for instance closely connected with his paintings. We find again his bare landscapes with dune-like hills which are characteristic traits of his hands. His chief work the large Triptych in Salzburg* shows many points of contact : compare especially the "Massacre of the Innocents" (Pl. 84 C) with the woodcut representing the same event (Pl. 57 A.) The woodcuts in which his development can be followed step by step extend over the period from 1483 to 1498 and they give important clues in regard to the date of his activity.

The researches concerning Dutch woodcuts give moreover information about the person of Jacob Cornelis. Up till now we only knew pictures from his hand dated from 1507, but the artist, who died in 1533 (van Mander says at a great age) must surely also have worked before the year 1507. To-day we are able to follow his activity from 1486, whilst we have also seen that he came from the great school of woodcutting at Haarlem.

Though in general we cannot value his paintings very highly because of his cold, occasionally somewhat dry colouring, and the hardness of his drawing, we now clearly discern the reason of it when we perceive that he was really a woodcutter by profession, who occasionally practised painting ; but as an illustrator of books, as a woodcut artist, he is an important personality, one of the most important in fact that the Netherlands can boast of, and we may indeed consider him as the immediate predecessor of Lucas van Leyden.

The maturity of his drawing-technique, his knowledge of perspective and his more precise modelling entitle him to be considered as the first Renaissance artist of the north.

* See "*Blätter für Gemäldekunde*", Band IV; or "*Onze Kunst*" XI (1919, S. 73).

LIST OF INCUNABULA

IN WHICH THE WORKS OF THE DUTCH AND FLEMISH
WOODCUTTERS ARE TO BE FOUND.

(NUMBERS OF CAMPBELL)

1. The Haarlem Woodcutter.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|---------|------------|
| C.A. 1157 | "Lyden ons Heeren" (Printer's device only) | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1483 |
| C.A. 1656 | "Sonderentroest" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1484 |
| C.A. 1343 | "Boeck des gulden Throens" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1484 |
| C.A. 1318 | "Die vier Uterste" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1484 |
| C.A. 1092 | "Historie van Jason" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1484 |
| C.A. 1095 | "Historie van Trojen" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1485 |
| C.A. 1091 | "Fais et Prouesses de Jason" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1485 |
| C.A. 1093 | "The History of Jason in English" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1492 |
| C.A. 258 | "Van den proprietyten der dinghen" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1485 |
| C.A. 695 | "Epistelen en Evangelien" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1486 |
| C.A. 1254 | "Doctrinael des Tyts" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1486 |
| C.A. 1376 | "Boeck van den pelgheryn" | .. .. . | Haarlem, Bellaert | .. .. . | 1486 |
| C.A. 1377 | "Boeck van den pelgrim" | .. .. . | Delft, Eckert v. Homberch | .. .. . | 1498 |
| C.A. 941 | "Histoire de Paris et de Vienne" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1487 |
| C.A. 942 | "Historie van Parys ende Vienna" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1487 |
| C.A. 943 | "Historie van Paris ende Vienna" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1488 |
| C.A. 975 | "Historie van Melusyne" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1488 |
| C.A. 1181 | "Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1487 |
| C.A. 1183 | "Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren" | .. .. . | Antwerp, C. Leeu | .. .. . | 1488 |
| C.A. 985 | "Hoofkyn van devotien" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1487 |
| C.A. 1074 | "Kintscheyt Jhesu" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1488 |
| C.A. 954 | "Van die seven wise mannen" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1488 |
| C.A. 847 | "Glose opten psalm "Miserere" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1491 |
| C.A. 1065 | "Kamitus, Regimen contra pestem" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | about 1491 |
| C.A. 603 | "Van den Dochteren van Syon" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1492 |
| C.A. 1778 | "Die seeven Weeden O.L.V." | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1492 |
| C.A. 1780 | "Die seven ween O.L.V." | .. .. . | Antwerp, Liesveldt | .. .. . | about 1495 |
| C.A. 511 | "Cronycles of the Londe of Englonde" | .. .. . | Antwerp, G. Leeu | .. .. . | 1493 |
| C.A. 1184 | "Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren" | .. .. . | Zwolle, P. van Os | .. .. . | 1495 |
| C.A. 1185 | "Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren" | .. .. . | Zwolle, P. van Os | .. .. . | 1499 |

2. The Gouda Woodcutter.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|---------|----------------|---------|------|
| C.A. 1755 | "Passionael, Winterstuck" (Printer's device only) | | Gouda, G. Leeu | | 1478 |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|---------|----------------|---------|------|

| | | | | | |
|------|------|---|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| C.A. | 560 | { | "Dyalogus Creaturarum ("Twispræc der creaturen") 6 editions. | Gouda, G. Leeu | 1480-1482 |
| | 561 | | | | |
| | 562 | | | | |
| | 566 | | | | |
| | 570 | { | "Dyalogus Creaturarum" 2 edit. | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. .. | 1486-1491 |
| C.A. | 563 | | | | |
| | 564 | { | "Dialogus Creaturarum" | Delft, Snellaert. | 1488 |
| C.A. | 568 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1316 | { | "Vier Uterste" | Gouda, G. Leeu | 1482 |
| | 586 | | | | |
| C.A. | 586 | { | "Quatre dernières choses" .. | Audenarde, A. de Keysere | before 1482 |
| | 952 | | | | |
| C.A. | 952 | { | "Historie van die seven wise mannen" | Gouda, G. de Os | about 1482 |
| | 947 | | | | |
| C.A. | 947 | { | "Historia septem sapientium Romae" | Gouda, G. Leeu | 1481 |
| | 826 | | | | |
| C.A. | 826 | { | "Gesten van Romen" | Gouda, G. Leeu | 1481 |
| | 1156 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1156 | { | "Liden ons Heeren" | Gouda, G. Leeu | 1482 |
| | 1157 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1157 | { | "Liden ons Heeren" | Haarlem, Bellaert | 1483 |
| | 693 | | | | |
| C.A. | 693 | { | "Epistelen en Evangelien" .. | Gouda G. de Os | 1484 |
| | 1115 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1115 | { | "Devote getiden" | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. .. | 1484 |
| | 1159 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1159 | { | "Liden ons Heeren" | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. .. | 1485 |
| | 1181 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1181 | { | "Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren". | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. .. | 1487 |
| | 1183 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1183 | { | "Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren". | Antwerp, C. Leeu.. .. | 1488 |
| | 1164 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1164 | { | "Liden ons Heeren" | Antwerp. G. Leeu.. .. | 1490 |
| | 1116 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1116 | { | "Devote Getyden" | Gouda, Collaciebroeders .. | 1496 |
| | 1481 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1481 | { | "Rosarium" | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. .. | 1487 |
| | 1046 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1046 | { | "Jordani Meditationes" | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. .. | 1485 |
| | 1492 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1492 | { | "Van den Seven Sacramenten" .. | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. .. | 1484 |
| | 828 | | | | |
| C.A. | 828 | { | "Gesten der Romeynen" | Zwolle P. v. Os | 1484 |
| | 1547 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1547 | { | "Sielentroost" | Zwolle P. v. Os | 1485 |
| | 1766 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1766 | { | "Passionael" | Zwolle P. v. Os | 1490 |
| | 703 | | | | |
| C.A. | 703 | { | "Epistelen ende Evangelien" .. | Deventer, J. de Breda | 1493 |
| | 276 | | | | |
| C.A. | 276 | { | "S. Bernardus Sermoenen" .. | Zwolle P. v. Os | 1495 |
| | 1184 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1184 | { | "Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren". | Zwolle P. v. Os | 1495 |
| | 705 | | | | |
| C.A. | 705 | { | "Epistelen ende Evangelien" .. | Deventer, J. de Breda | 1496 |
| | 1116 | | | | |
| C.A. | 1116 | { | "Devote Getyden" | Gouda, Collaciebroeders .. | 1496 |
| | | | | | |

These are the principal books containing all the woodcuts made by the Gouda artist; many of them however, reappear in several other incunabula of the Gouda and Zwolle presses.

3. The Utrecht Woodcutter.

| | | | | |
|------|------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|------|
| C.A. | 1544 | "Der Sielentroost" (printer's device only) | Utrecht, G. Leempt | 1470 |
| C.A. | 1342 | "Boeck des gulden Throens" .. | Utrecht, G. Leempt | 1480 |
| C.A. | 1479 | "Fasciculus Temporum" | Utrecht, J. Veldener | 1480 |
| C.A. | 1757 | "Passionael" | Utrecht, J. Veldener | 1480 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|----|--------------------------|----|----|------|
| C.A. 690 | " Epistelen ende Evangelien " | .. | Utrecht, J. Veldener | .. | .. | 1481 |
| C.A. 918 | " Kruidboeck in dietsche " | .. | Kuilenburg, J. Veldener. | .. | .. | 1484 |

4. The Antwerp Woodcutter.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|----|--------------------|----|----|------|
| C.A. 1130 | " De modo confitendi " | .. | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. | .. | .. | 1486 |
| C.A. 1394 | " P. Hispani logicalia " | .. | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. | .. | .. | 1486 |
| C.A. 1639 | " Vulgaria Terentii " | .. | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. | .. | .. | 1488 |
| C.A. 975 | " Historie van Melusine " | .. | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. | .. | .. | 1491 |
| C.A. 1181 | " Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren " | .. | Antwerp, G. Leeu.. | .. | .. | 1487 |
| C.A. 1183 | " Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren " | .. | Antwerp, C. Leeu.. | .. | .. | 1488 |
| C.A. 1184 | " Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren " | .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | .. | .. | 1495 |
| C.A. 1185 | " Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren " | .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | .. | .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 1766 | " Passionael, Somerstuck " | .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | .. | .. | 1490 |

5. The Delft Woodcutter.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------|----|-------|------|
| C.A. 953 | " Historie van die seven wise mannen " | .. | Delft, v. d. Meer | .. | .. | 1483 |
| C.A. 421 | " Dat Scaecspul " | .. | Delft, v. d. Meer | .. | .. | 1483 |
| C.A. 1319 | " Vier Uterste " | .. | Delft, v. d. Meer | .. | .. | 1486 |
| C.A. 696 | " Epistelen ende Evangelien " | .. | Delft, v. d. Meer | .. | .. | 1486 |
| C.A. 1160 | " Ons Heeren Passie " | .. | Delft, v. d. Meer | .. | .. | 1487 |
| C.A. 1763 | " Passionael " | .. | Delft, v. d. Meer | .. | .. | 1487 |
| C.A. 568 | " Twispraec der Creaturen " | .. | Delft, Snellaert. | .. | .. | 1488 |
| C.A. 1182 | " Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren " | .. | Delft, Snellaert | .. | .. | 1488 |
| C.A. 1321 | " Vier Utersten " | .. | Delft, Snellaert | .. | .. | 1488 |
| C.A. 1765 | " Passionael " | .. | Delft, Snellaert | .. | .. | 1489 |
| C.A. 1767 | " Passionael " | .. | Delft, Eckert v. Homberch.. | .. | .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 331 | " O.L. Vrouwen Croon " | .. | Delft, Snellaert | .. | .. | 1490 |
| C.A. 1120 | " Leven ons Heeren " | .. | Delft, Eckert v. Homberch.. | .. | .. | 1498 |
| C.A. 1257 | " Minnenbrief " | .. | Delft, Snellaert | .. | .. | 1491 |
| C.A. 1262 | " Missale Trajectense " | .. | Delft, Snellaert | .. | about | 1495 |
| C.A. 29 | " Fabulen van Esopus " | .. | Delft, Eckert v. Homberch.. | .. | .. | 1498 |
| C.A. 250a | " Bartholomei Canones " | .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | .. | .. | 1500 |

6. The Leyden Woodcutter.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------------|----|------------------------|----|-------|------|
| C.A. 837 | " Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1494 |
| C.A. 841 | " O. L. Vrouwen Getyden " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1497 |
| C.A. 1111 | " Levens ons Heeren " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1498 |
| C.A. 1119 | " Oefeninghe van den Leven O. Heeren " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1498 |
| C.A. 1580 | " Spieghele der volcomenheyt " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 345 | " Die vier Oefeninghen " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 279 | " O. L. Vrouwen Souter " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 1122 | " Leven O. L. Vrouwen " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1500 |
| C.A. 1114 | " Leven ons Heeren " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | about | 1500 |
| C.A. 846 | " Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen " | .. | Leyden, Hugo Janszoon. | .. | .. | 1500 |

7. The Zwolle Woodcutter.

| | | | | |
|------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|------|
| C.A. | 828 | " Gesten der Romeynen " Prin- ter's device only) | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1484 |
| C.A. | 275 | " S. Bernardus Sermonen " .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1484 |
| C.A. | 276 | " S. Bernardus Sermonen " .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1495 |
| C.A. | 1547 | " Der Sielentroost " | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1485 |
| C.A. | 1548 | " Der Sielentroost " | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1491 |
| C.A. | 697 | " Epistelen en Evangelien " .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1487 |
| C.A. | 1162 | " Liden ons Heeren " | Hasselt, P. Barmmentloe.. | 1488 |
| C.A. | 1620 | " Sterfboec " | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1488 |
| C.A. | 1766 | " Passionael " | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1490 |
| C.A. | 446 | " Clargie om wel te leven " .. | Hasselt, P. Barmmentloe.. | 1488 |
| C.A. | 1323 | " Die vier Utersten " | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1491 |
| C.A. | 938 | " Vaderboeck " | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1490 |
| C.A. | 794 | " Gemmula vocabulorum " .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1492 |
| C.A. | 1185 | " Ludolphus, Leven ons Heeren " .. | Zwolle, P. v. Os | 1499 |

8. The Bruges Woodcutter.

| | | | | |
|------|------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| C.A. | 1348 | " Ovide, Metamorphose " .. | Bruges, Col. Mansion .. | 1484 |
|------|------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------|

9. The Ghent Woodcutter.

| | | | | |
|------|------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| C.A. | 985a | " Horae B. M. V. " | Gent, Ar. de Keysere .. | about 1490 |
|------|------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------|

10. The Louvain Woodcutters.

| | | | | |
|------|------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| C.A. | 1052 | " Justinianus, Institutiones " .. | Louvain, J. de Westfalia .. | 1475 |
| C.A. | 1053 | " Breviarium Codicis Justiniani " .. | Louvain, J. de Westfalia .. | about 1475 |
| C.A. | 1201 | " Epistolares Formulae " | Louvain, J. de Westfalia .. | 1476 |
| C.A. | 1478 | " Fasciculus temporum " | Louvain, J. Veldener .. | 1476 |
| C.A. | 1479 | " Fasciculus temporum " | Utrecht, J. Veldener .. | 1480 |
| C.A. | 1100 | " Legenda Heinrici et Kunegon- dis " | Brussels, Fratres Communis Vitæ.. | 1484 |
| C.A. | 1745 | " Visio lamentabilis " | Louvain, Ravescot.. | about 1488 |
| C.A. | 294 | " Bocatius, De claris mulieribus " .. | Louvain, v. d. Heerstraten.. | 1487 |
| C.A. | 1405 | " P. de Rivo, Opus responsivum " .. | Louvain, Ravescot.. | 1488 |
| C.A. | 596 | " Spieghel der kersten menschen " .. | Louvain, J. de Westfalia .. | about 1490 |
| C.A. | 1096 | " Legenda S. Annae " | Louvain, J. de Westfalia .. | 1496 |

11. Jacob Cornelis.

| | | | | |
|------|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| C.A. | 968 | " Godevaert van Boloen " | Gouda, G. de Os | about 1486 |
| C.A. | 1331 | " Opusculum Grammaticale " .. | Gouda, G. de Os | 1486 |
| C.A. | 974 | " Lanstloet ende Sandryn " .. | Gouda, G. de Os | about 1487 |
| C.A. | 1083 | " Le Chevalier délibéré " | Gouda, G. de Os | about 1488 |

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|------------|
| C.A. 1084 | " Le Chevalier délibéré " | .. .. | Schiedam.. .. | about 1498 |
| C.A. 840a | " Getidenboec " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1496 |
| C.A. 842 | " Getidenboec " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1498 |
| C.A. 1100 | " Leven ons Heeren " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1497 |
| C.A. 1220 | " Devote Materien " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1497 |
| C.A. 601 | " Spieghel der kersten menschen " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1498 |
| C.A. 1327 | " Oefeninghe der Passie " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1497 |
| C.A. 383 | " Vita Lidwine de Schiedam " | .. .. | Schiedam.. .. | 1498 |
| C.A. 368 | " Breviarium Windeshemense " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 1113 | " Leven ons Heeren " | .. .. | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 1579 | " Spieghel der volmaectheyt " | | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1499 |
| C.A. 346 | " Vier Oefeninghen " | | Schoonhoven, in den Hem .. | 1500 |

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A



B



A



B

Et facit omnes puillos et me quos et dunt et paupes et liberos
et seruos here caracere in dextre aut in frontibus suis ut quis
possit cuere aut vendere nisi qui habet caracere et nomen
bestie aut nomen hominis eius numerus cui hominis
numerus cui est sexcenti sex et uel sex

Et uidet eum
anquis dicit
supra monte hyo
et cum illo eru-
bi xpm uultu
habentes nome
et non patris
eius scriptum
in frontibus
suis

Et respondens
quasi centu
nom aut
sed uidet et ante
quatuor ania
et seruos hyo
sequitur eum
quod dicit

A

Unus de quatuor
animabus

Veni et uide
ide et spiritus
litter intellige
que ante
dilectum
facta legisti

Sellor huius
qui semet
priet

ad hoc sed iudicad
nihil
dilectum
ad legem
fuerit
phuet

Veni et
uide in
spiritu
litter uide
legem que a
patre dicitur
in cor legisti

gladit
dilectum
subiugatur
pertinet

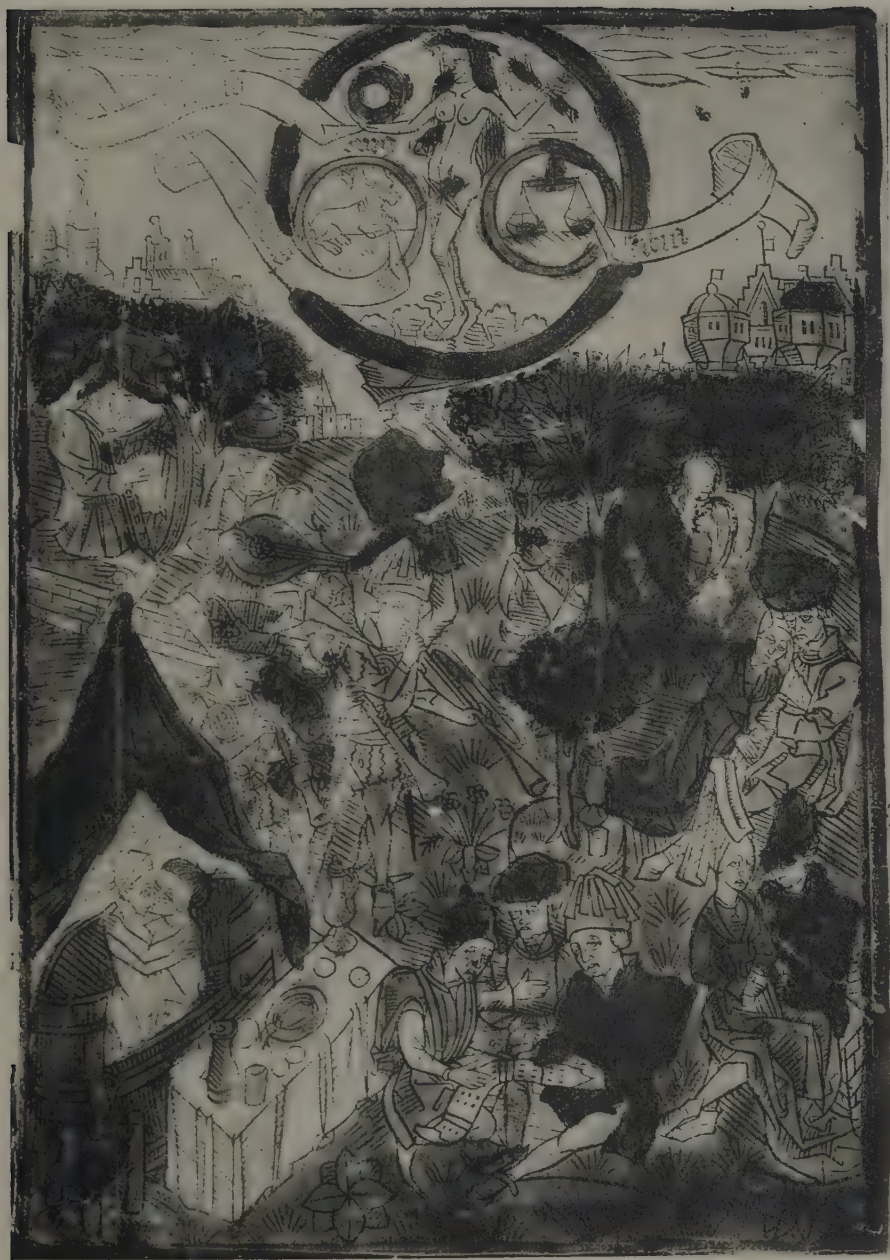
B



A

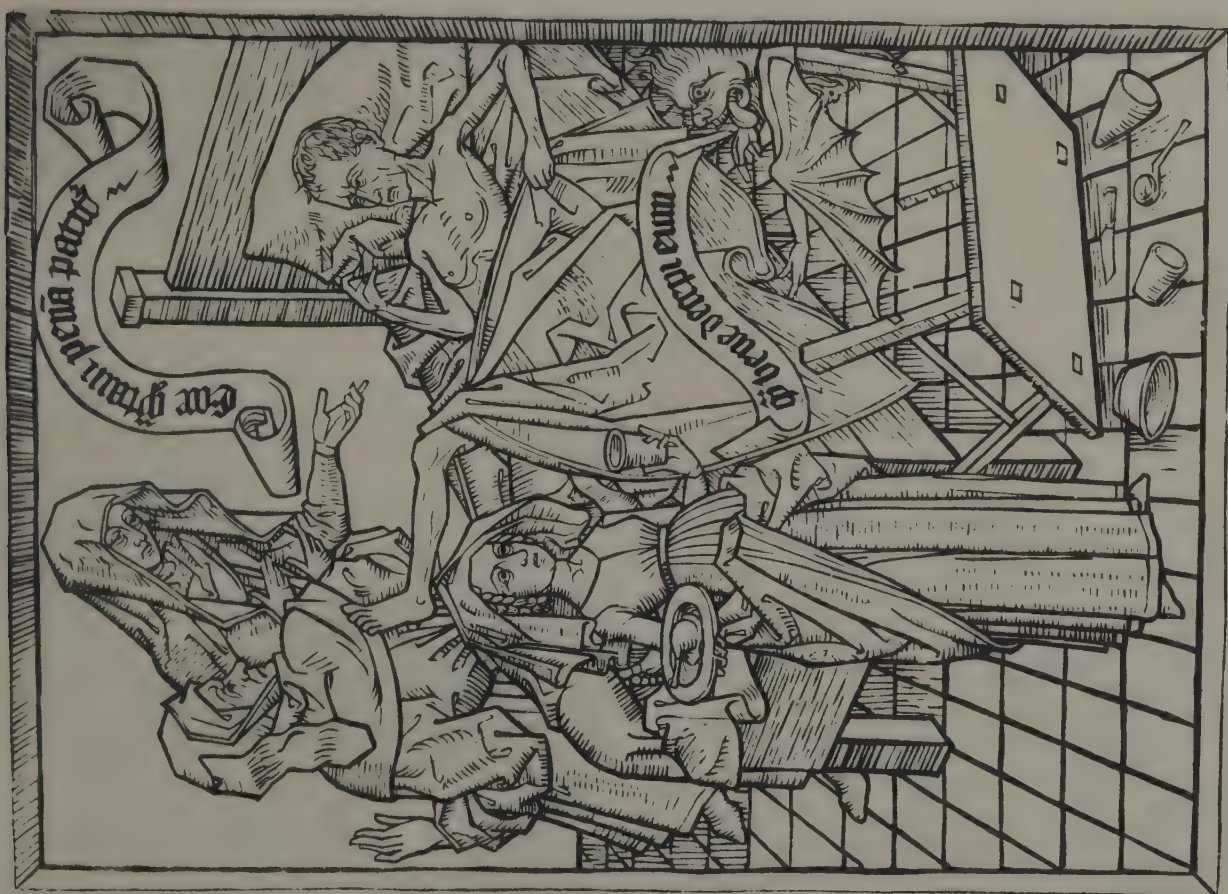


B





B



A



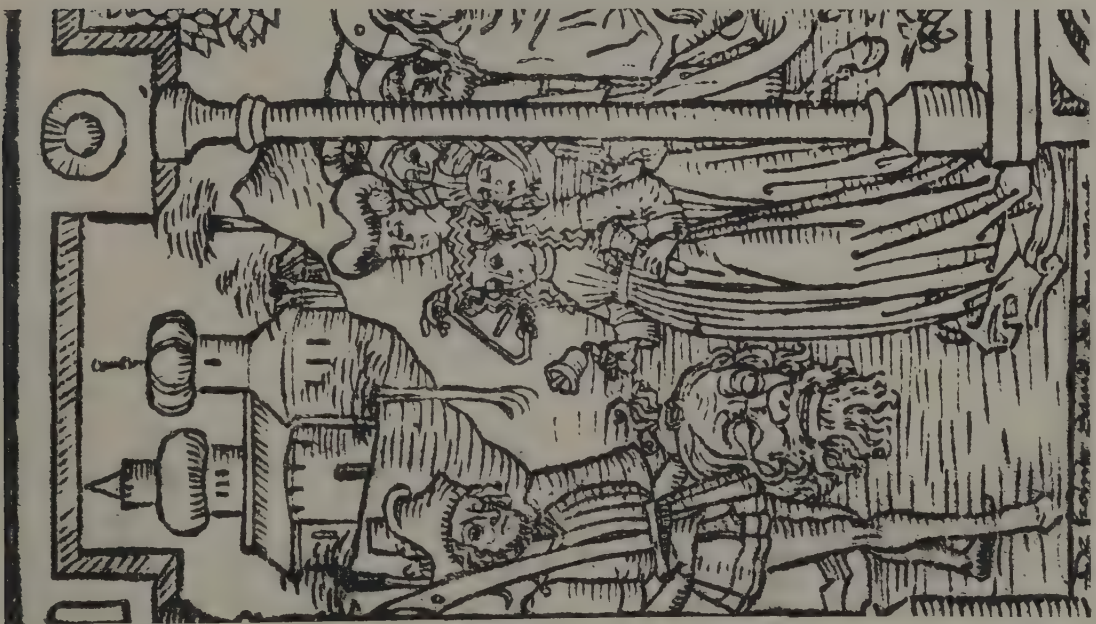
A



B



A



B



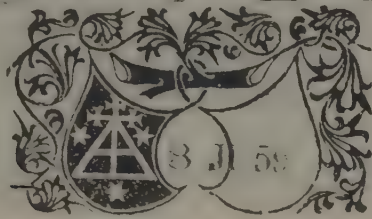
C



A



B



A



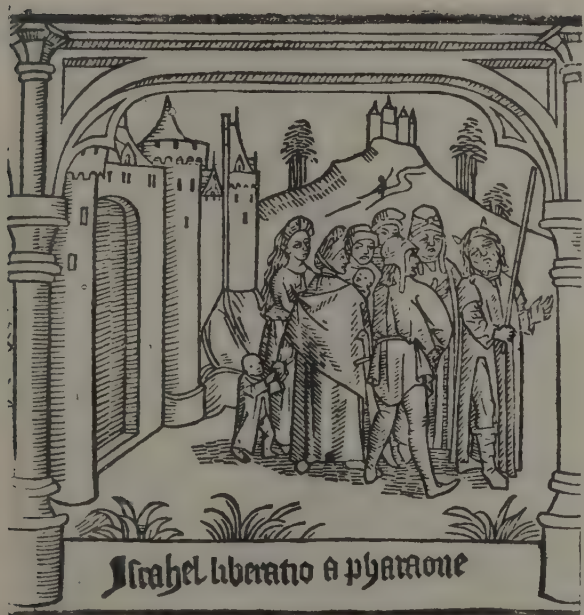
B



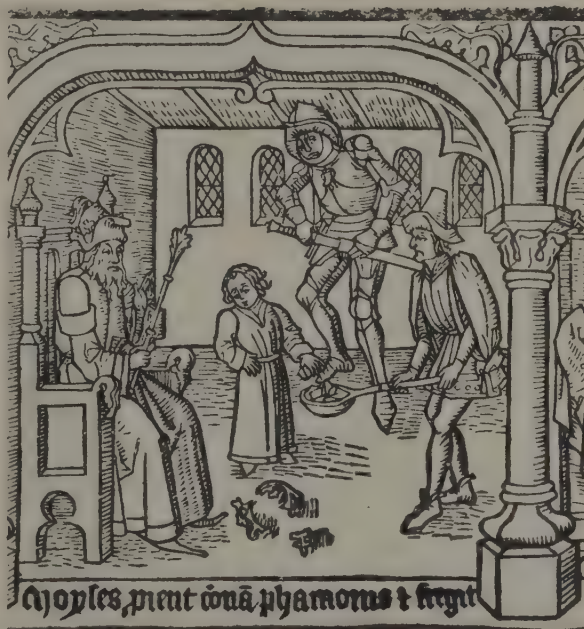
A



B



C



D





Opper alre creaturen sienlic ende on sienlic ende alder opperste werckman. Tu die daer an doetste belidinge en verchierhept mit lichte omgechert als mit een cleet wispelende de hemel gelijc velle mit watere deckende de oppersten des hemels. een coninc sijnde d'ons ricks

A



Voer screuen dach verschenen wesende en beyde partjen voer den rechter in persone gecomen sijnde. Moyses ter stont int recht tredede Antwoorde op de libelle van belpal seggende aldus ic mislaet en onkenne tgunst datter nareert en vertogē is gelikerwijs dat narreert en ver

B



Opde iheremias ic spreek althijt onder correxie ghelijc dat het rijk
goods des vaders voer dat de tempel gemaect was veel perse-
cucien geleden heeft vandē heydenen daer omtrent hem luyden woenē
de mit ellef persecucien alst blōct int bouc der rechteren ouer al eñ int eers

A



En anderden sal hi doen roupen de menschelicke creaturē ende
eerst het iuetsche volc: Ende de coninc eñ rechter sal mit haer re-
den houden eñ sal segghen **O** ghi mannen iueden eñ volc van yrahelen
was ic v niet beloeft inde wet die seyt god sal een propheet verwecken ge

B



A



B



C



A



B



A



B



A



B



A



B



Hoe hercules ter zee in hesperie voir ren quamē dair npe marē datter inde

A



B



Hier beghint het anderde boeck der sonderlings dede . mer alsoe de oude

A



Hoe hercules en these? vochten te le dat lant dat nu genoemt is affrig-

B



A



B



Hoe pluto proserpine roefde est hoe

A

te sach dede hi xx. van sijn gesellē wa



hoe iupite mit alcumēna liep .ende

B



coninc iupiter ende sijn wijf iuno wa



A



Hoe leomedon hercules buytē tropē

geuen had daer si niet an en saghē dā

B



A



Hoe hercules troepen destrueerde de

de haer loen in langen niet ghesien en

B





A



B

THE
PARK
THE GARDEN



B



A



Evangelium op den seluen dach Lucas in syn

A



B



C



D



A



B

In dien tiden doe ihūs geboꝛē was in beth
leem iude in coninc herodes daghen. Die
die coninghen comen wt oeklant tot iherusalē est



C

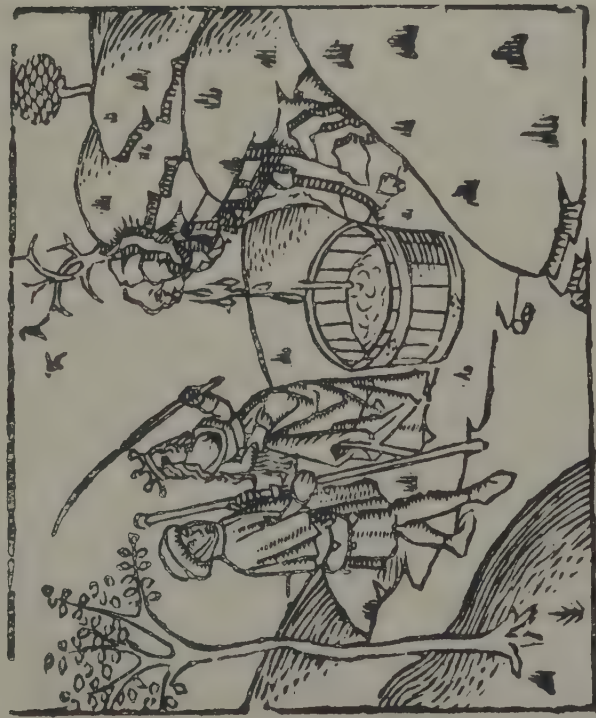


Gistotiles comēde voer haer groetse vrien-

D



A



C



B



D



A

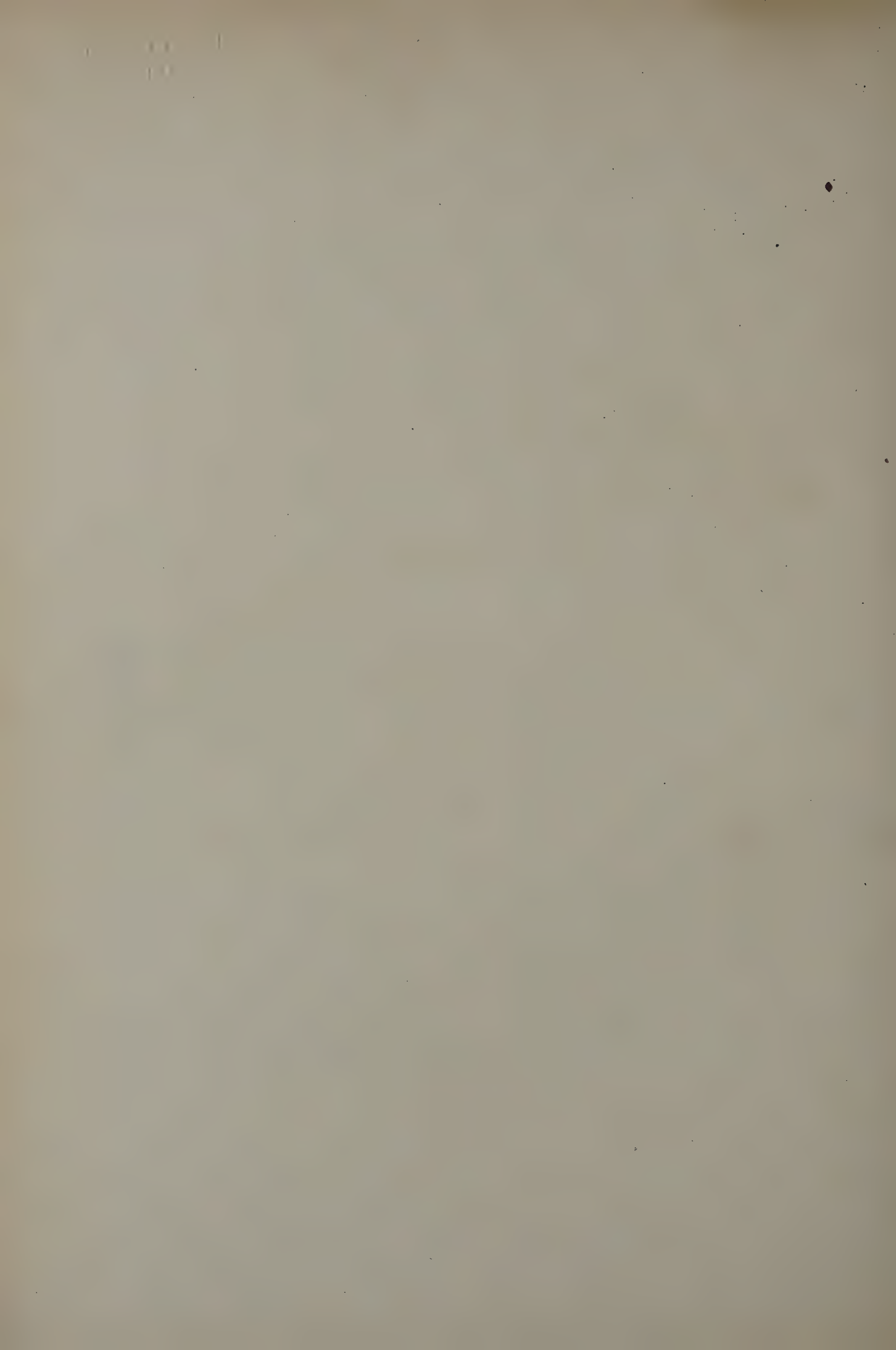


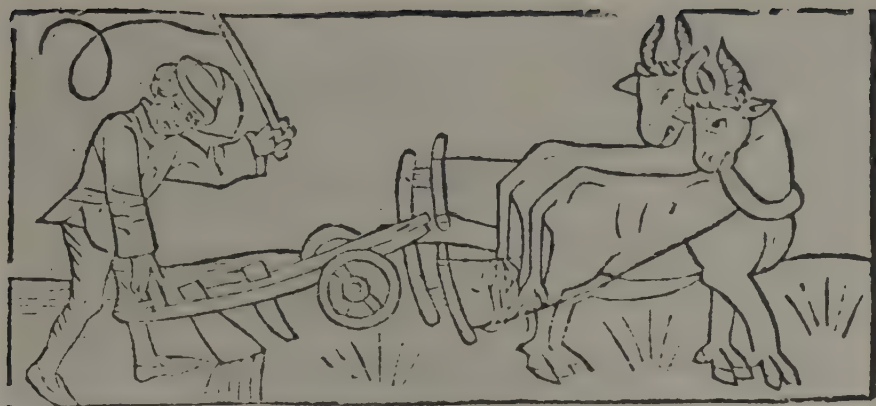
B



C

QJAMIA DATUR FILIO ISTI IN DICTO





A



B



C



A

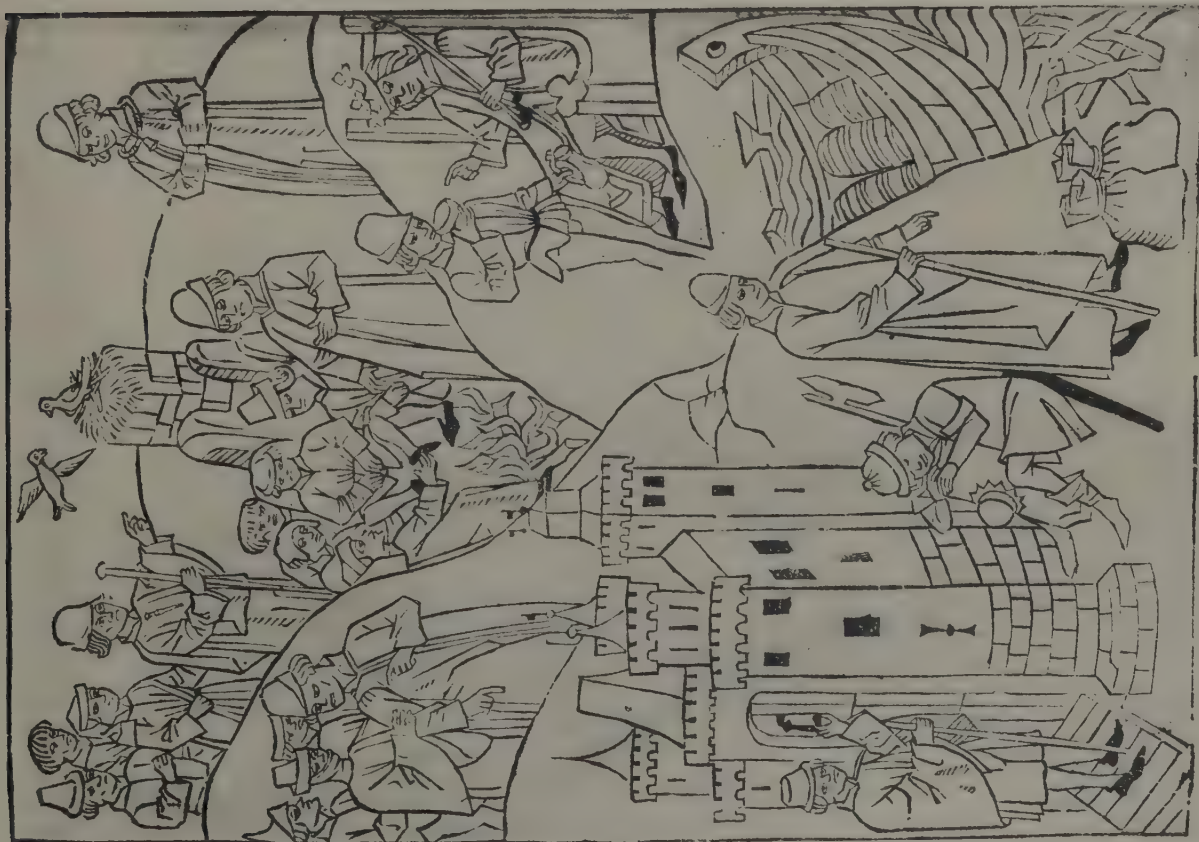


B

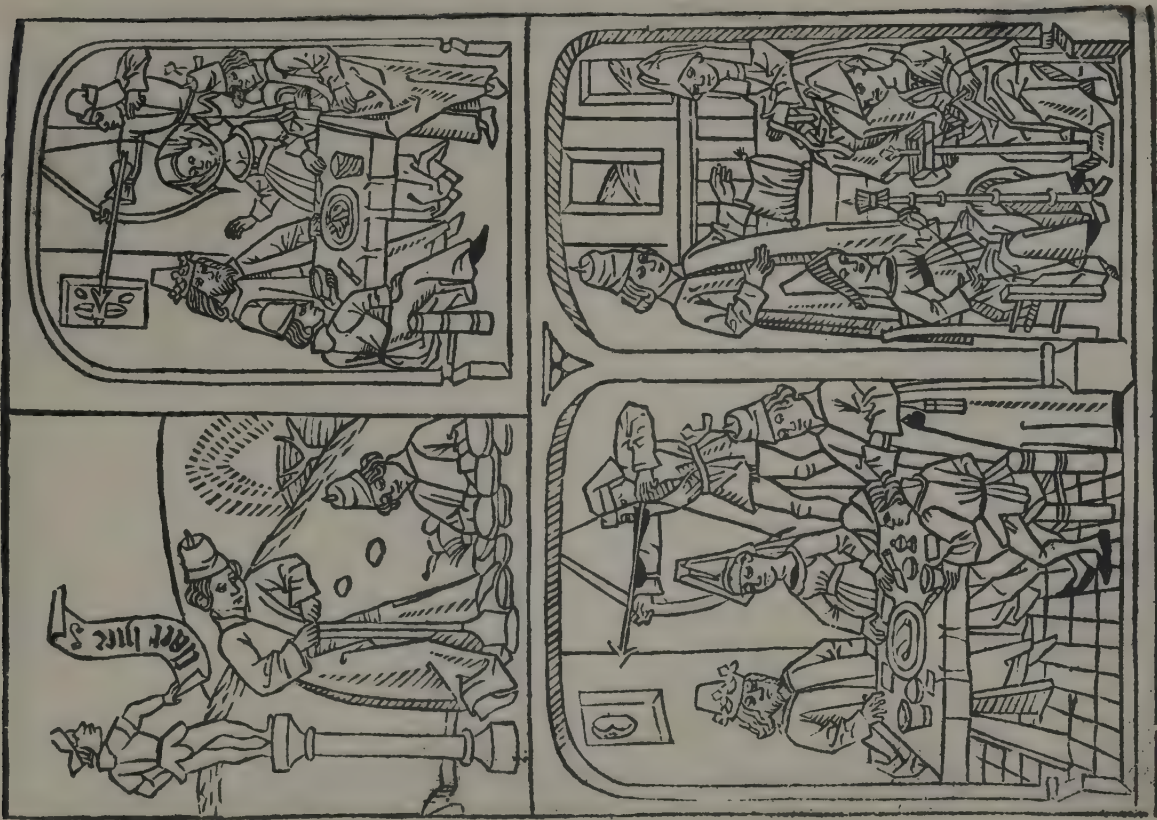


C





A



B



Die hystorie des eerwaerdigen hoech hi ghesent was Ten achften waer toe hy

A



B



A



B



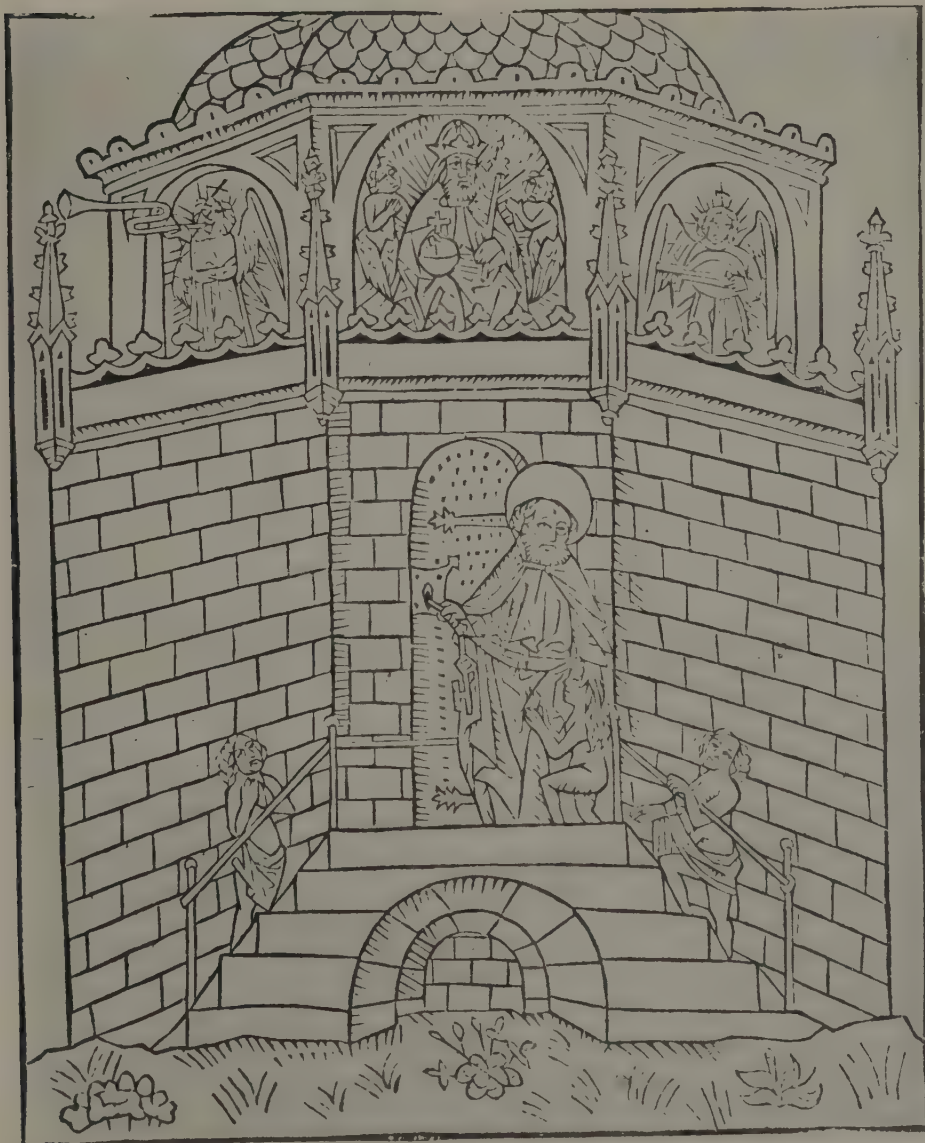
C



D



A



B



A



B



C



D





A



B



Hoe paris mitten twee broede-
ren in alexandrien toech al daer hi van

hem gheselschap te houdene. efi soe te
den sy omme de stadt. efi om deswille

A



B

THE
FALL
OF
MAN



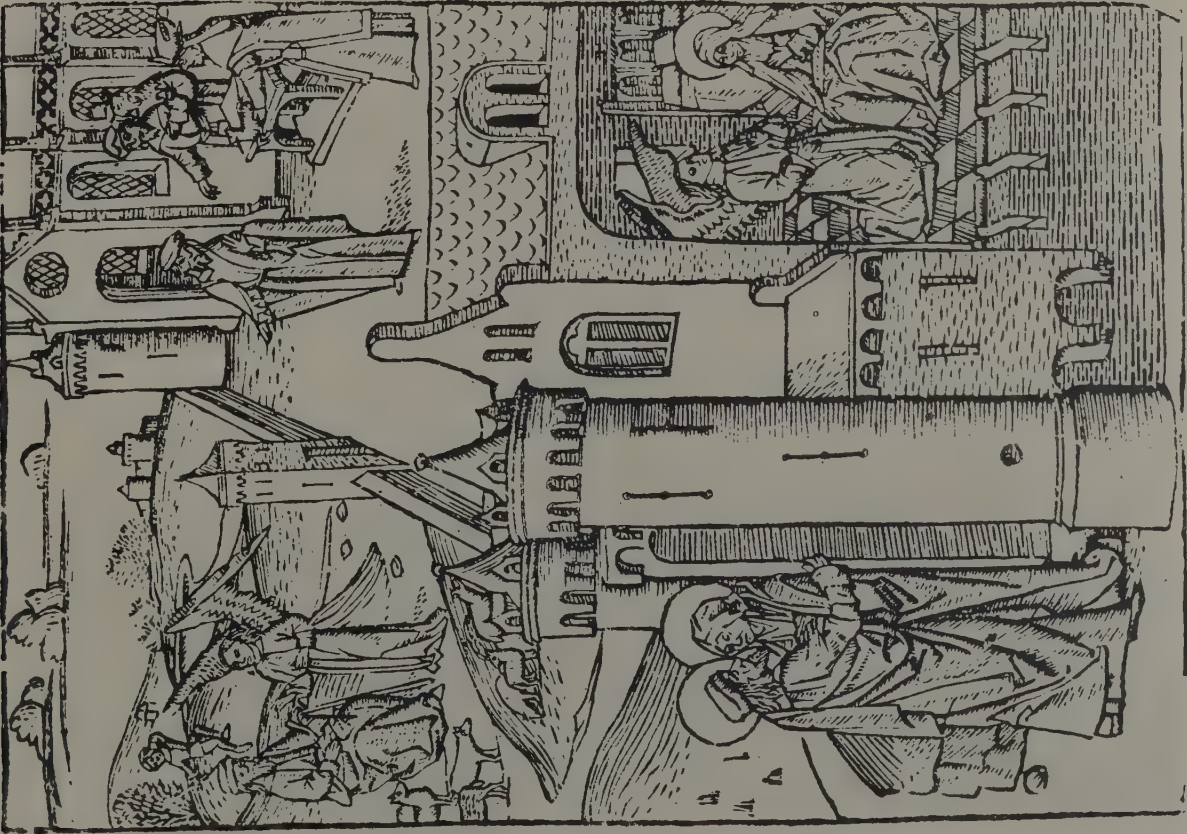
A



B



B



A



B



A



**¶ De exceptione regis filii patre obitiam illi
profecto cum multo cetu**

A black and white woodcut illustration depicting a medieval scene. In the center, a king with a crown and scepter stands on a rocky outcrop, looking down at a man in a long robe who is kneeling or bowing. To the left, a group of men, including one with a crown, look on. In the foreground, a man on a horse is being led by another man. The background features a large, stylized tree with many flowers.



**Die tweede wee ôser heuer vrou
wen Hieraf scrjft mathe⁹ in sijn
tweede capittel**

A



**Dit is die vierde wee vā onser he-
uer vrouwen. en hier af scrjft ber-
nardus in sijn meditacien**

B



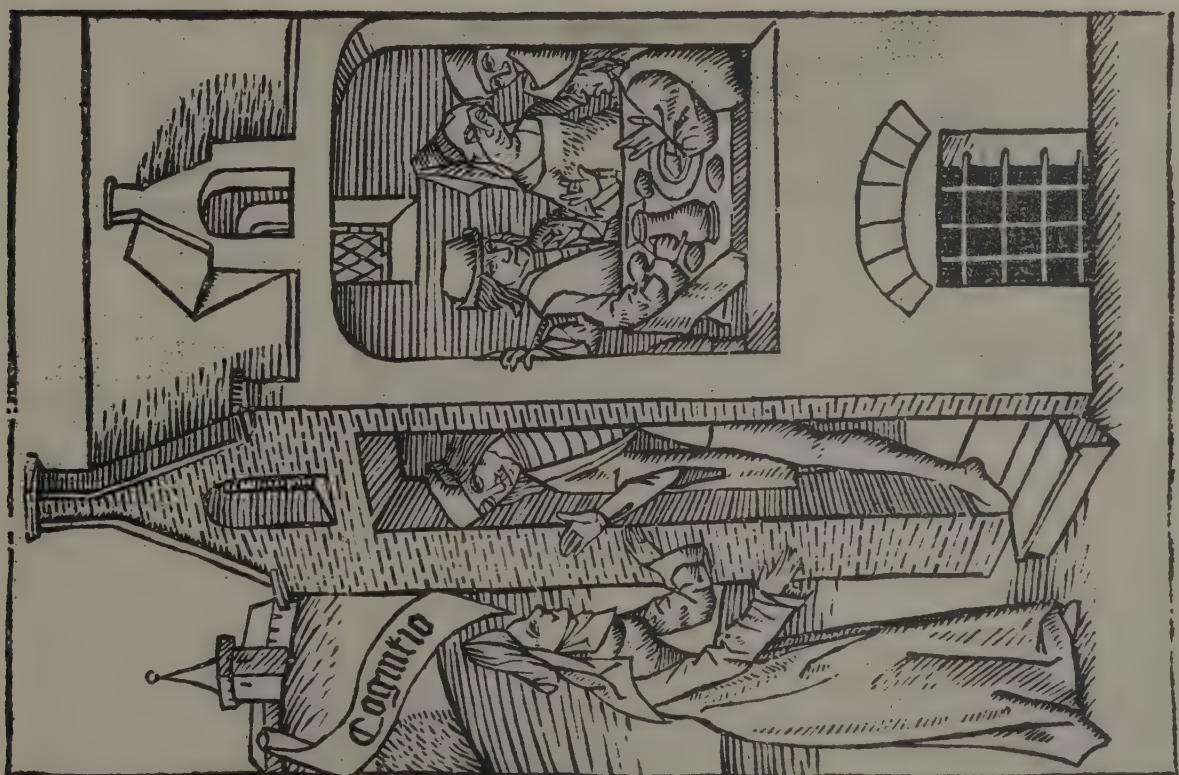
C

Cronydes of the londe of Englōd





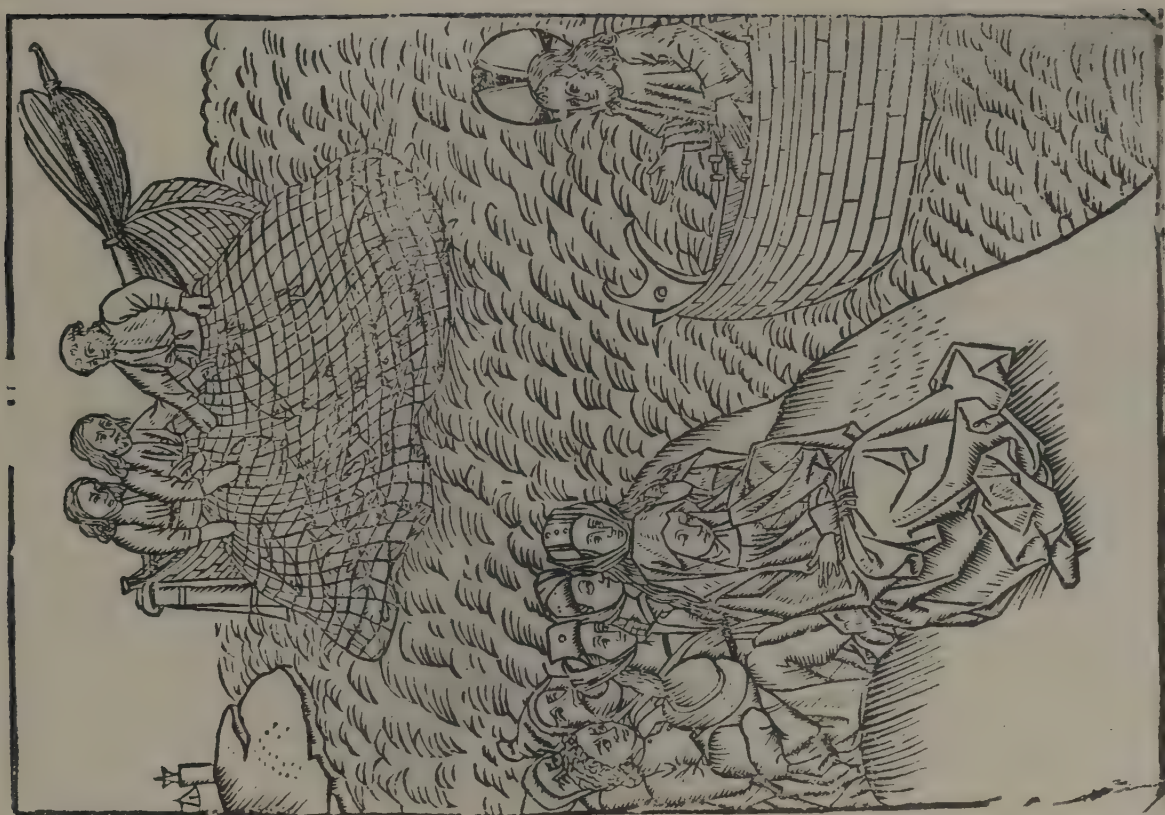
B



A



A



B



A



B



C



A



B



A



B



C



D



A



B



C



D



A



B



A



B

D XLII



A



B



Hede als ihesus met sinen disci-
pulen ouer die zee ghenarē end

die iordane biden berghe vā galaad en
soe syn vten grauen vanden bergen ge

A

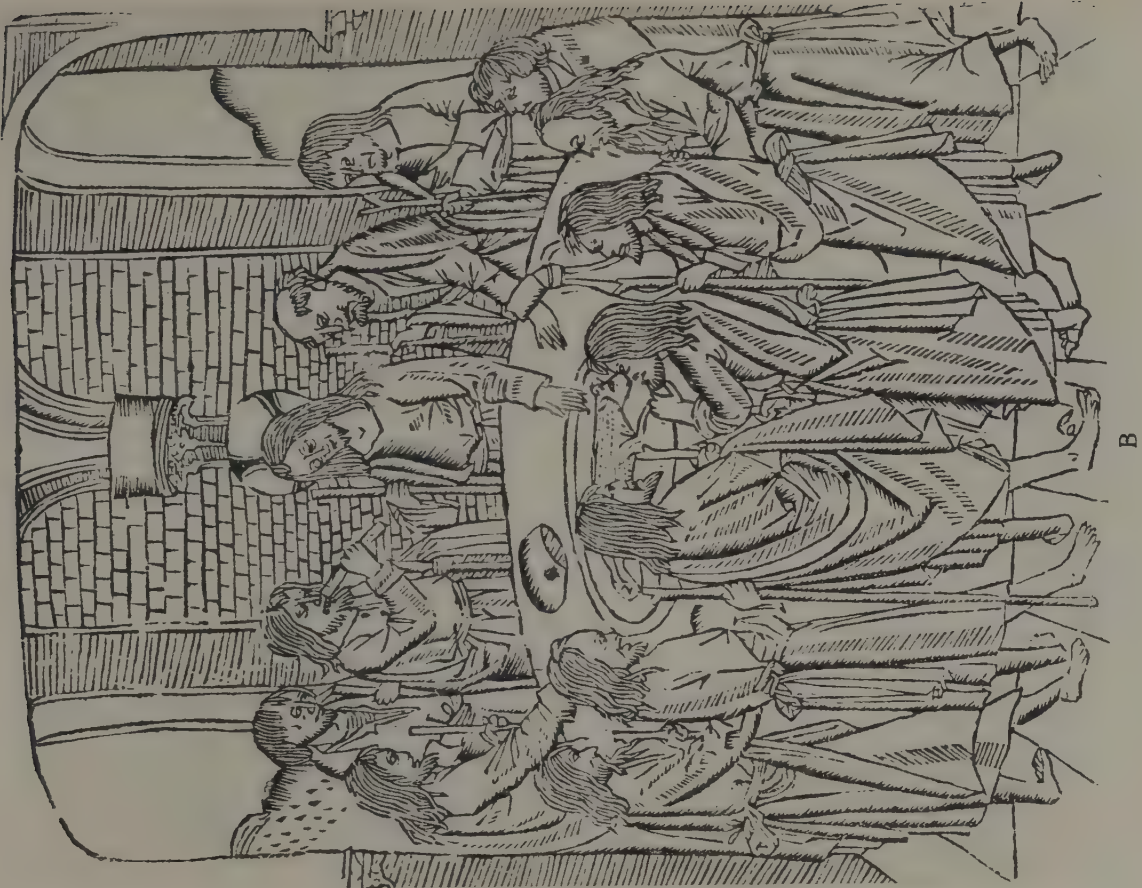


brengen v al hier een wijs die welck
dat als nu in ouerspēl beuonden is



steruē wāt ghi selt in v seluē beuindē
dz ai dicwils tegē die wette ia imers

B





A



B





A



B

en rijk omme dat hi u hadde moghē



A

Ikse vlammen drie lichtē Verlicht mi
tot uwer eeren en tot mijne salichē



B



Spet hier een mensche Doe riepen
si met luder stemmen. Doet hē wech

C



A



B

spijse des ewigē leuens. En hoe gro-
te vreuchde si salichlyck voelde als si
menichmerc soetelyck soende haren
maechdelikē soē here en scepper ihū

Van die besnidenis en van den soe-
ten naem ihesus.



C



stōt namē
si sijn rech-
terhant en
doegen dē
nagel daer
doer met
sulcker ge-
welt dat
het vleysch
metten na-
ghel in dat
cruce drac.

Och siet
hoe minlijc dat hi v aenmerct recht of
hi sijn brupt omhelsen woude. Doe
namē si sijn lincher hant. en wār dat
gat te verre gheboert was so namen
si touwen en recten die armē wt alle
leden ons herē eēn halve voet verder
dan die natuerlike ledē comen moch-
ten Och nu merct dat deerlic is ter wi

D



Eest
ghe/
gru
et ouerscho/
ne welrukē
de bloekijn
ende suuer
maechdekē
dauid's doch
ter. coningi
ne der suuer
heyt ende d
maechden
glorie. die als ghi waert van drien ia
ren. soe waert ghi ouermids die v re
gierden in allen uwen dinghen van
uwen ouden ioachim en anna eer.
waerdelyc geleit tottē tēpel des herē
en daer gode gheoffert tot een nieuwe
worghe offerhade alre ghenaelijcste

A

naerdigen mensche' niet onderwin
den en soude. Want nu haddet die vi
ant gaerne belet. o alle creaturē doet
v oren open en v ogen. en hoert ende
siet dat onrechtuaerdige vōnisse dat
v scepper voer v ontfact vanden on
rechtuaerdighen rechter. En mochtē
dese woorden wesen. **I**c poncius pp



latus sitie
de in des
keplersste
de eē gene
rael rechē
indatioed
sche lāt wi
se voereen
oerdel dat
men sal ne
men ihesū
vā nazare
nē marien

B



den der sa/
len en na/
men eē cro
ne vā door
nen en sloe
gen se in zū
hooft dat
sommighe
doer dat ge
benedpde
hooft ghin
ghen dat
hē dat bloet

ren voeten of liep. **O** gheminde vrien
dinne gods weet dat ihūs om uwen
wille d'ierepsen gecroont is. **O**ch aen
marc die oneer die hem hier gedaen
was. wāt al die bespottige die de iode
ihm dedē i capphas hups tē onudēse
hier. **D**aer na nā pilat? ihm die also on
machtich is dat hi nau staen cā op zū

C



Jer na
als ma
ria harē ge/
benedide so
ne en heere
alsoe iāmer
lijc had sien
steruen int
cruce en dat
daer nadpe
ridō met eē
speer wrede
lijc doer stac
zū gebenedide luster side en zū god/
lijke soetvlopende herte. en dat daer
wvlepe de water en bloet. en si daer o
als doot ter aerde viel. en sy daer nae
hē bescreide als hier voren bescreuen
is soe quamē daer. **i**j. edel mānen die
heimelijc ons herē discipulen waren

D



A



Ende riepen ende seiden mit spitighe
smadighe woerde Ghegruet sijstu co

B



In den dertienste stede is dē herch
van caluariē dair onse lieue here

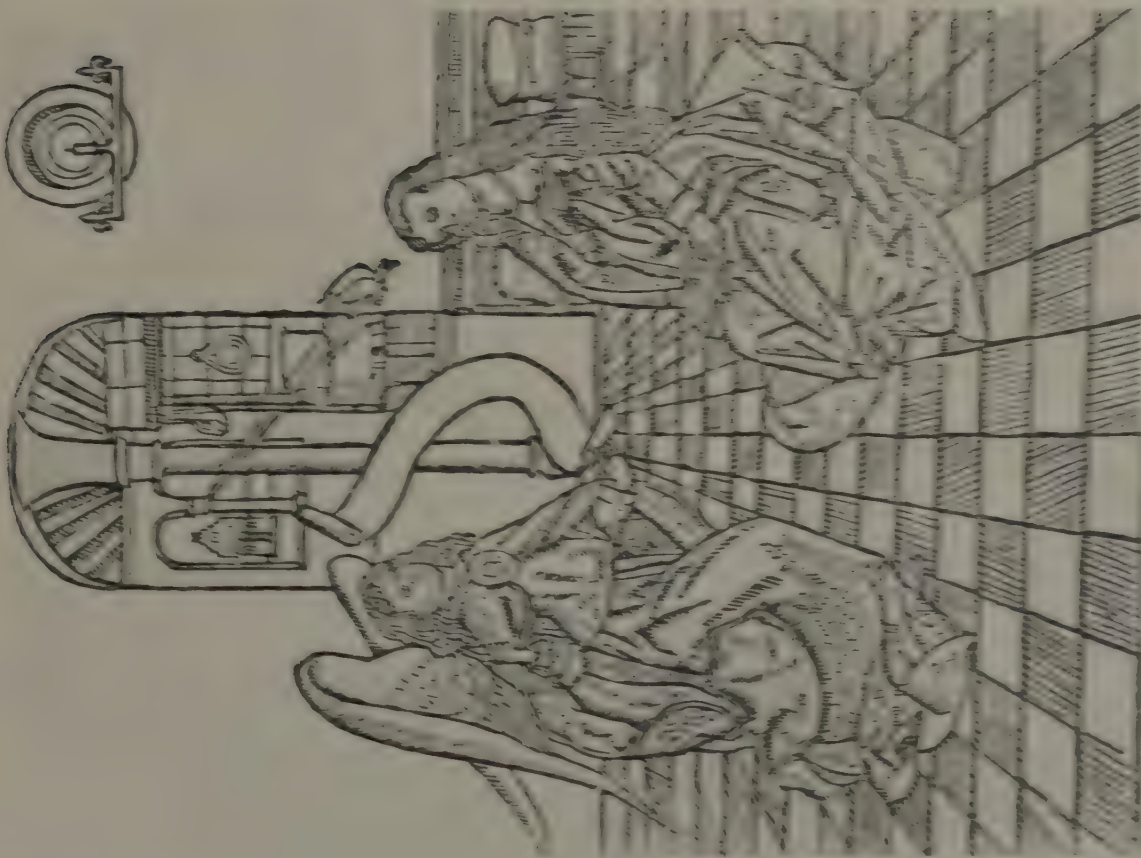
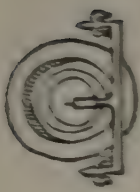
C



Eest ghegruet alre goedtieren
ste maria. die vol biste van alle

D

Leimonis Gerardi In Dnyfische





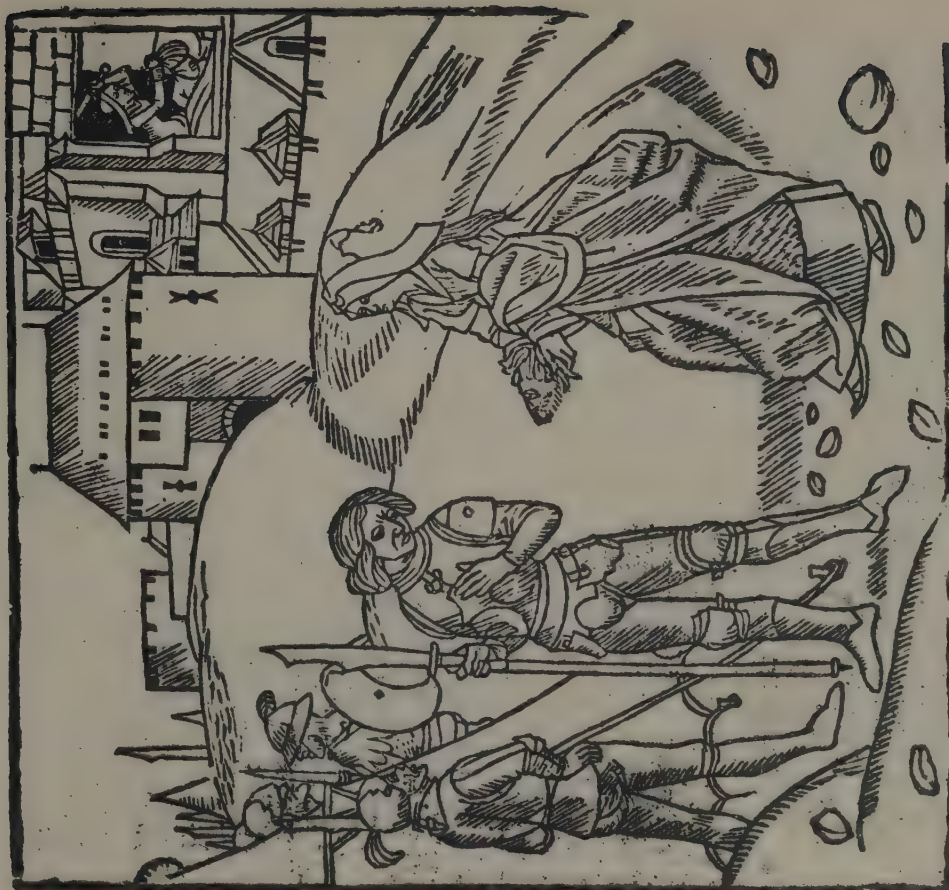
A



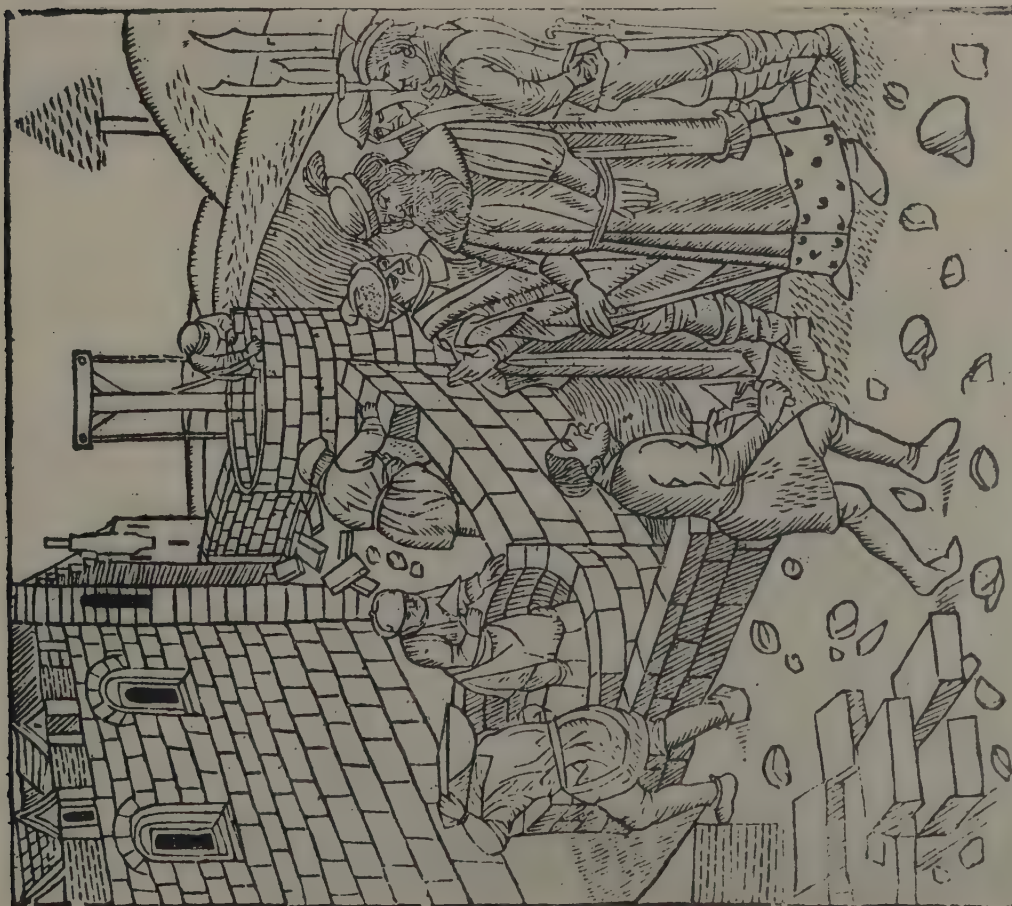
B



C



B



A

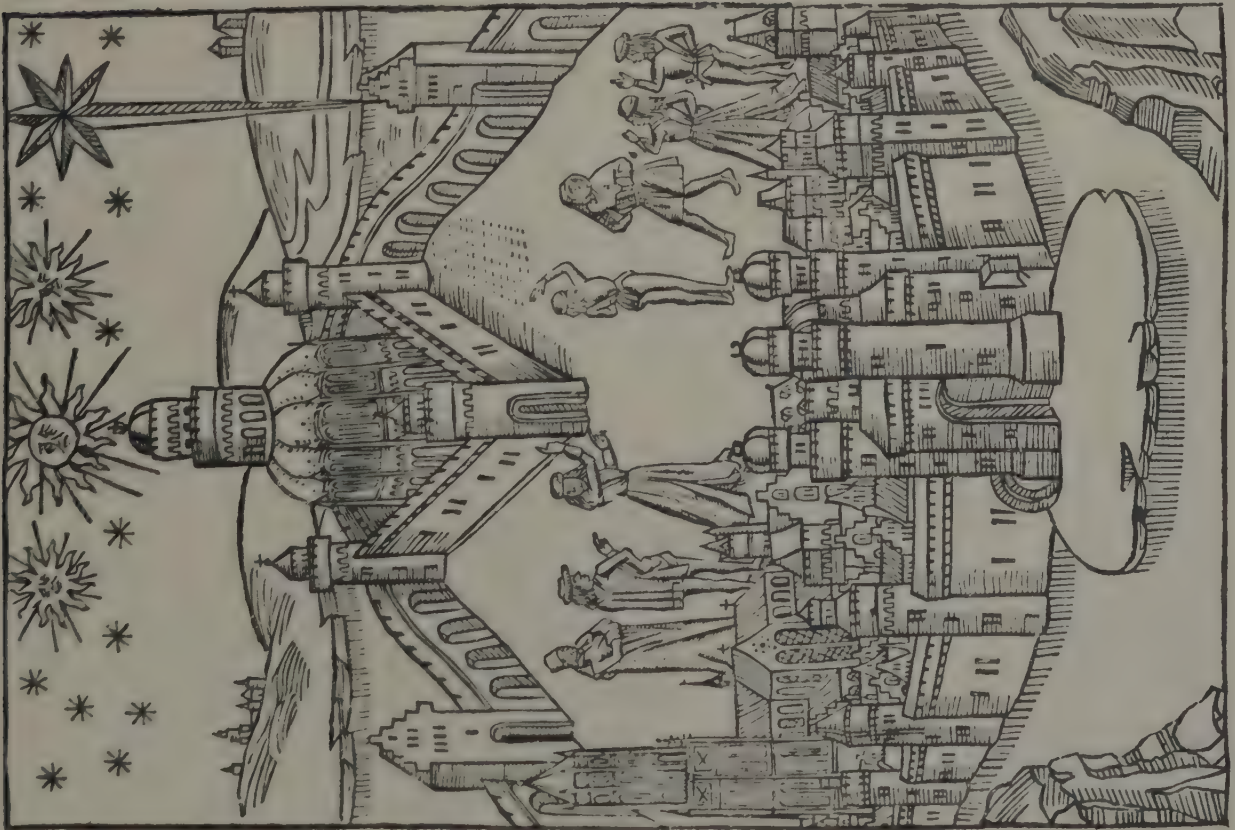
THE
LIFE
OF
THE
SACRED
HEART



II



A



A



D



B



C



**Comment le premier chappitre du
traitie. Le cheualier delibere.**



Le cheualier delibere.





A



B

wij makē deelachtich sijns bitter liden



C



D



A



B



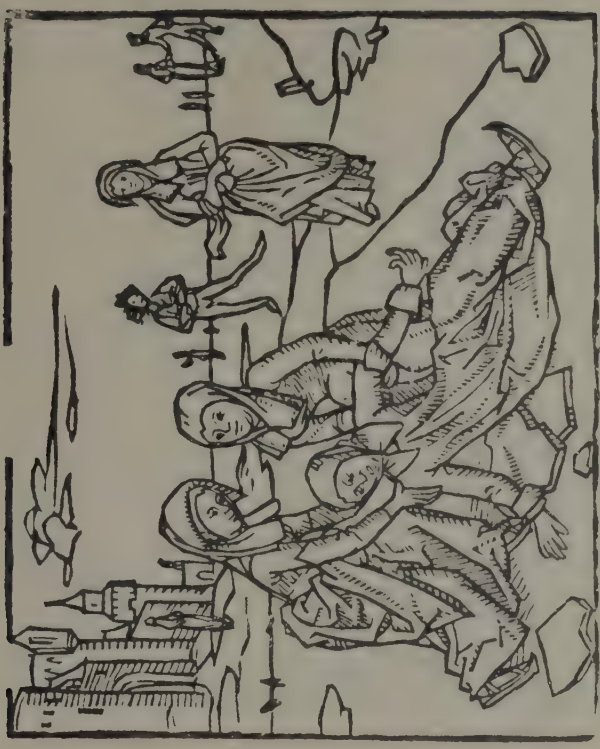
C

Die historie vāden heiligē patriarch
 Ioseph: brudegom der maget maria
 en opuoeder ons herē ihesu cristi.



D

THE
PARABLE
OF THE
TALENTS



B



D



A



C

THE
FALL
OF
JERUSALEM



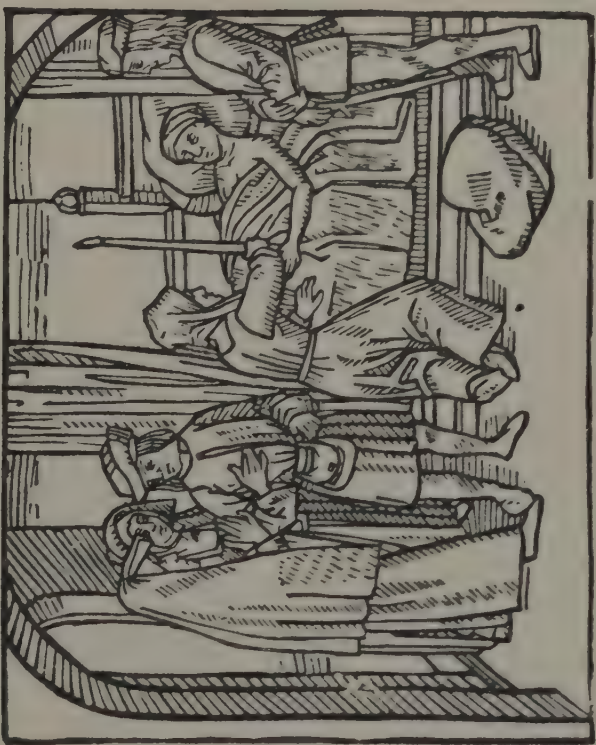
B



D



A



C

APPENDIX



Soe wie dit ghebet leest mit beiron van sin
 sonde die verdient. I. r. r. duzent' inder oelact
O here ihu xpi ic aenbede die hemelike v
 borghenheit d'ys herte inde welcke dat
 alle die scatten vā wysheide besloten sin En ic
 aenbede die alder hoechste en soetste begheerte
 en minne d'ys herte die v. ochte totter ald bit
 terste p'ne des lides om ons daer mede te v
 lossen vāder enigher doot. Amē. p' r. m. ane

A



B



1.



1.



D

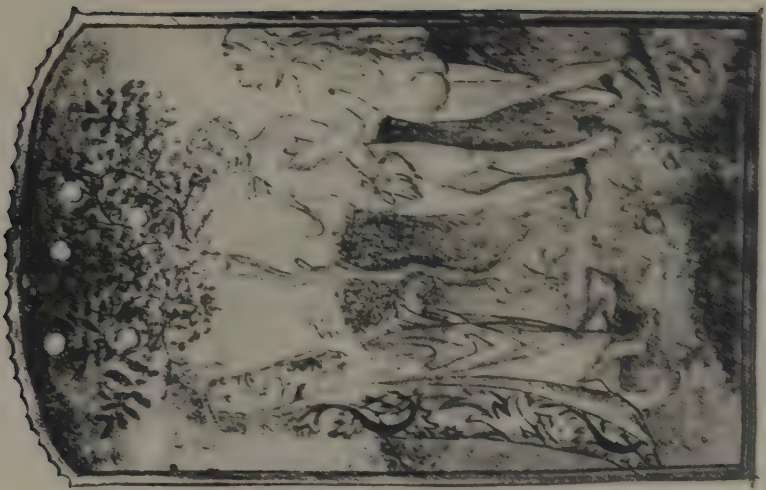


E



C





18



19



20

